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THEOCRITUS AND HERODAS.

THERE are not a few passages in which Theocritus and Herodas mutually illustrate one another: and it may be expected that the writings of the former will materially assist the work of deciphering the text of the latter.

We should naturally look to those Idylls of Theocritus which are distinctly Mimic for the most frequent instances of resemblance, presuming that both poets were imitators of Sophron, or at all events preserved certain traditions or characteristics of the Mime which were originated (?) by him. Let us look first at Theoc. Id. ii.

Here in ll. 18, 19

... ἀλλ' ἐπίσασσε,

Θέστυλι δειλαία, πᾶ τὰς φρένας ἐκπεπότασαι;
we find an instance of that peevish irritability and impatience in addressing slaves, of which Herodas affords frequent examples, e. g.

οὐ σοι λέγω αὐτῇ τῇ ᾧδε χῶδε χασκούσῃ;
μᾶ. μὴ τιν' ὄρην ὧν λέγω πεποιήται,
ἔστηκε δ' ἔς μ' ὀρεῖσα· καρκίν', οὐ με ζεῖς;
—iv. 42.

... σὺ δ' οὐδὲν ἄν, τάλαινα, ποιήσῃς
αὐτὴ ἀπὸ σεωντῆς· μᾶ. λίθος τις οὐ δούλη
ἐν τῇ οἰκίῃ μευ εἰς. κ.τ.λ.—vi. 3.
Δριμύλῳ φωνέω· πάλιν καθεύδεις;—vii. 5.
Ψύλλα, μεχρὶς τευ κίσει ῥέγκονσα;—
viii. 1.

The occurrence of such expressions is a strong argument in favour of the theory that Mimes were really acted; they would give occasion for plenty of comic 'business.' Further on in the same Idyll we may compare l. 55 with Herodas v. 17.

χρέω μοι ὅκη βούλει
καὶ μὴ τὸ μευ αἶμα νύκτα χημέρην πῖνε.
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The word *μακαρίτης*, too, very rare in the feminine, occurs in Theoc. Id. ii. 70 and in Herodas vi. 55. The custom also of borrowing smart clothes for special occasions (although it was not peculiar to that age or country) is alluded to in this same Idyll, l. 74, and in Herodas vi. 26, as pointed out by Dr. Rutherford.

In Idyll xiv. I have not noticed anything besides the introduction of the proverb

μῦς φαντί, Θνώμιχε, γείμεθα πίσσας,

with which compare Herodas ii. 62

πέπονθα πρὸς Θαλήτος ὅσσα χῆ' μ' πίσσῃ
μῦς.

Dr. Rutherford, in his note on the passage in Herodas, quotes from *Paroem. Gr.* to the effect that the proverb is applied to those who have succeeded in overcoming their adversaries after great difficulty. But is it not rather applicable to one who has been attracted by the hope of gain, and finds that he is inextricably entangled in something particularly disagreeable? It certainly has that meaning in the case of Aeschines (Theoc. l.c.) who is disappointed in the result of his love-affair, and in the case of Battarus (Her. l.c.) who expected half-pence rather than kicks from Thales. But this is rather digressing. Let us go on to Idyll xv.

The commencement of this Idyll (as Dr. Rutherford has pointed out) bears a very strong resemblance to Herodas i. Compare the 'ὡς χρόνῳ' of Praxinoe with 'τί σὺ θεὸς πρὸς ἀνθρώπους; κ.τ.λ.' (i.e. 'to what am I indebted for this angel's-visit?') of Metricho: similar reasons too are given for the long interval between the visits—

τὸ δ' ἐκαστέρῳ ὧ μὲλ' ἀποικεῖς (Theoc.) and

H

μακρὴν ἀποικίαν, τέκνον, ἐν δὲ τῆς λαύρης
ὁ πῆλος ἄχρις ἰγνῶν προσέστηκεν (Herodas).

Another good example of the peevish irritability of mistresses must be noticed in this *Idyll*, ll. 27 foll. We may also compare the expressions of wonder uttered by Gorgo and Praxinoe on viewing the tapestry-work, with those of the ladies who admired the votive images in the Asclepieum at Cos.

Compare:—

θεῶν περονάματα φασεῖς
ὡς ἔτυμ' ἐστάκанти, καὶ ὡς ἔτυμ' ἐνδιενῦντι.
ἐμῆνυχ', οὐκ ἐνφαντά. σοφόν τι χρήμ' ὦν-
θρωπος.—Theoc. xv. 79, 82.

with Herodas iv. 20:—

μᾶ. μᾶ. καλῶν, φίλη Κυννοῖ,
ἀγαλμάτων

and iv. 32.—

πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν γοῦν εἴ τι μὴ λίθος τοῦργον
ἐρεῖς λαλήσαι. μᾶ. χρόνῳ κοθ' ὠνθρωποὶ
κῆς τοὺς λίθους ἔξουσι τὴν ζόην θεΐναι.

and iv. 57.—

ταῦτ' ἐρεῖς Ἀθηναίην
γλίψαι τὰ καλὰ . . . and more.

Next in importance to these Mimic illustrations come the indications of the date of Herodas which are furnished by the comparison of his *Mime* i. with Theoc. Id. xvii. The latter contains the praises of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and was presumably written after Theocritus had migrated to Alexandria from Sicily, i.e. some time between 270 and 266 B.C. The wealth of the king and the extent of his kingdom are enthusiastically described, ll. 76 foll., and the advantages of a residence in Egypt are briefly summed up by Gullis in Herodas i. 26 foll. Theocritus says of Philadelphus (l. 121) that 'he is the only one who either in past or present time dedicated altars to his mother as well as to his father.' Herodas mentions θεῶν ἀδελφῶν

τέμενος. That would not apply to the divine honour paid to the father and mother of Philadelphus; but if we presume that Euergetes followed his father's example of filial piety and dedicated a τέμενος to Philadelphus and Arsinoe, who were brother and sister, then it follows that Herodas was writing of the reign of Ptolemy III.

I will add a few more trifling perhaps, but still noticeable points of connexion between the two poets.

Cp. Theoc. i. 18.—

καὶ οἱ αἰεὶ δριμύα χολὰ ποτὶ ῥινὶ κάθηται.
with Herod. vi. 37.—

μὴ δὲ, Κοριττοῖ, τὴν χολὴν ἐπὶ ῥινὸς
ἐχ' ἰθὺς ἦν τι ῥῆμα μὴ καλὸν πεύθῃ.

Theoc. v. 51 and xv. 125.—

ὑπνω μαλακώτερα.

with Herodas vi. 71.—

ἡ μαλακότης ὑπνος.

Theocr. x. 13.—

ἐκ πίθω ἀντλείς δῆλον.

with Herodas iv. 14.—

οὐ γάρ τι πολλὴν οὐδ' ἐτοῖμον ἀντλεῦμεν.

The expression *ὠνάθην μεγάλως* in Theoc. xv. 55 may help to fill up the lacunae in Herodas i. 83, 84, thus—

πείσοντά σ' ἡλθον, ἀλλὰ [μᾶλλον ὠνάθην].
ὦν οὔνεχ' ἔν μοι, Γύλλι, ὠνά[θης, χαίρω].

The use of the optative with *ἀν* of Attic Greek (which in the word *ἐρεῖς* is frequent in Herodas, as Dr. Rutherford has noticed) is also met with in Theocritus, e.g.

Ἵρᾶν πεπιλίσθαι νιν ἐπὶ κράναισι δοκασεῖς.—i. 150.

τάχ' ὥτερος ἄλλον ὄνασεῖ.—vii. 36.

θεῶν περονάματα φασεῖς.—xv. 79.

ἄργυρος, ἢ τίς ὁ μισθός, ἐρεῖς, ᾧ κέν σε πίθοι-
μεν;—xxii. 64.

H. KYNASTON.

ADVERSARIA ON THE GREEK ANTHOLOGY.

While reading Mr. Mackail's delightful book of selections I have jotted down the following notes, which I should like to submit to his attention and that of other scholars who are concerning themselves with the *Anthology*.

Anth. Pal. v. 237 (Mackail, Sect. 1. xxx. 5).

Ὅρματα δ' οὐ λάοντα φυλάσσεται
μόντα Hecker. δὲ σταλάοντα *al.*

Read ὁρματα δ' οἰδάοντα, and cf. κυλοῖ-

διώντες in a similar connexion, Theoc. i. 38.

A. P. vi. 30 (Sect. 2. vii. 7, 8).

Keep the MS. reading and punctuate

Θρέψον ἐτι σπαῖρον τὸ γερόντιον, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ γαίης,
ὡς ἐθέλεις μεδέων καὶ χθονὶ καὶ πελάγει.
= 'since thou rulest as thou wilt equally on land and sea.'

A. P. ix. 142 (Sect. 2. xxxv. 2).

The alteration of the MS. *κέκευθε* into *λέλογχε* hardly commends itself. It is better

to correct the case of the noun (as in Sec. 7. xiii. 5 and elsewhere) and read *ὡς περὶνῳ* τῷδε κέκευθε (intrans.) δόμῳ.

A. P. vii. 277 (Sect. 3. xxi. 1).

For *τίς ξένος ὦ ναηγέ;* (which Mr. Mac-kail finds to be merely 'extremely elliptical') I should read

τίς τίνος, ὦ ναηγέ; comparing Sect. 3. xlix. i.

τίς τίνος εἶσα, γύναι, Παρήν ὑπὸ κίονα κείσαι; 'Who and whose son are you?' is asked because the epitaph regularly gave the two names (Sect. 3. xii. i. *Αἰσχύλον Εὐφορίωνος* etc.). *Ξ* and *Τ* are frequently confused.

A. P. vii. 712 (Sect. 3. xl.). The MS. reading is

*Νύμφας Βανκίδος ἐμμί. πολύκλαντον δὲ παρέρ-
πων*

*στάλαν τῷ κατὰ γῆς τοῦτο λέγοις Ἀῖδα·
βάσκανος ἔσσ', Ἀῖδα· τὰ δὲ τοι καλὰ τὰ
μεθ' ὁρῶντι*

*ὡμοτάταν Βανκοῦς ἀγγελέοντι τύχαν,
ὡς τὰν παῖδ', Ὑμέναιος ἐφ' αἷς ἡδετο
πύκναις,*

*τάνδ' ἐπὶ καδιστὰς ἔφλεγε πυρκαϊᾶς·
καὶ σὺ μὲν, ὦ Ὑμέναιε, γάμων μολπαῖτον αἰοῖδαν
ἐς θρήνων γοερῶν φθέγμα μεθηρμόσαο.*

Bergk's correction of l. 3 into *τὰ δὲ ποικίλα σάμαθ' ὁρῶντι* is displeasing for several reasons: (i.) a self-complacent epithet applied by the inscription to the tomb is in bad taste and quite unusual; (ii.) the omission of the article with *ὁρῶντι*, and the plural *ἀγγελέοντι* with neuter subject *σάματα* are both objectionable; (iii.) the corruption is not accounted for.

The cause of corruption lay in the dialectical forms. Erinna is an early writer, whose Doric would be fairly strict. The first source of the error lies in her use of *κᾶ* = *ἄν*. *ὁρῶντι* is 3rd plur. subjunctive. KAAA rose from KAM: and we should read *τάδε δ' οἷ κα μνάμεθ' ὁρῶντι κ.τ.λ.*: 'and they who see this monument will proclaim the most cruel fate of Baucis?'

The 5th and 6th lines should, I think, be read

*ὡς τὰν παῖδ', Ὑμέναιος ἐφ' ᾧ αἷς ἡδετο
πύκναις,*

τάνδ' ἐπὶ καδιστὰς ἔφλεγε πυρκαϊᾶς.

'how the girl, over whom Hymenaeus was rejoicing with *his* torches, for her (I say) the kinsman was setting alight the funeral-fires.' The resumption of *τὰν παῖδ'* by *τάνδ' ἐπὶ*, though grammatically slightly irregular, is effective. The opposition between the torches of Hymen and the funeral torches is as clear as the opposition in the next two lines.

A. P. vii. 410 (Sect. 4. xi. 3).

MS. *βάκχος ὅτε τριθὺν κατὰγοι χορόν.*

Jacob's *τρηνικόν* is too remote.

Why not *βριθὺν*? cf. *οἶνω βεβαρηότες* etc.

A. P. ix. 314 (Sect. 6. xiv. 4).

MS. *ψυχρὸν δ' ἀχραῖς κρᾶνα ὑποϊάχει.*

Since *ψυχρὸν* can well dispense with its noun (Theog. 263), and since *ὑπὸ* seems very apposite to the sense, I look for the correction in dialectical forms, and should read *ψυχρὸν δ' ἀχραῖς κρᾶνα ὑπαίποτάγει.* *ὑπο(πο)τάγει* results in *ὑποῖαχει*.

For *προσάγω*, 'ministers,' v. Lid. and Sc. *προσάγω* i. 4.

A. P. vi. 147. (Sect. 7. xii. 3).

MS. *γινώσκει· ἦν δ' ἄρα λάθη καὶ μιν ἀπαιτῆς...μισθὸν* Porson, *τίμον* Jacobs.

Rather read *καὶ δῖς μιν ἀπαιτῆς*, 'ask (it) back from him twice over.'

A. P. ix. 270 (Sect. 10. viii. 1, 2).

MS. *κωμάζω, χύρσειον ἐς ἐσπερίων χορόν
ἀστρων*

*λεύσων, οὐδ' ἄλλων λὰξ ἐβαρυν-
ναόρος.*

Read *λὰξ ἐβαρυννε κάρως*, 'nor hath drunken torpor trodden me heavily down.' *κάρως* and *κραυάλη* are akin. A variant *κώρος* probably led to confusion of the end of the verse.

A. P. vii. 731 (Sect. ii. vi. i.).

MS. *"Αμπελος ὡς ἦδη κάματι στηρίζομαι
αὐτῷ
σκηπανίῳ.*

Read *αὐτῷς*, 'merely.'

T. G. TUCKER.

DIMINUTIVES IN *-CULUS*. THEIR METRICAL TREATMENT IN PLAUTUS.

THE termination *-culus*, *-culum* in Latin sometimes represents the Indo-European suffix *-lo*, which indicates the instrument with which an action is performed or the place of its performance, sometimes the suffix *-colo*, a compound of two Indo-European Diminutive Suffixes *-co* and *-lo*. To

the first class belong words like *vehiculum*, 'that by which one is carried'; *poculum*, 'that out of which one drinks'; *cubiculum*, 'the place where one lies down'; *periculum* from **perior*, *peritus*, *experior*; *oraculum* from *orare*. To the second, Diminutives like *corculum*, *uxorcula*, *sucula*. These two

classes of terminations are not distinguished by us in our ordinary practice of writing Latin; they show however in the hands of Plautus a notable difference of metrical treatment. For in his verses the first suffix appears normally as one syllable, *-clus*, *-clum*, the second as two syllables *-culus*, *-culum*. Thus Plautus has always *vehī-tum*, with that monosyllabic form of the suffix which we find invariably, when by Dissimilation the *cl* is changed to *er*, e.g. in *ambulacrum*, 'a place for walking in,' for **ambulaculum*, while Diminutives like *auricula*, *pulvisculus* retain the disyllabic suffix in his plays as persistently as *agricola*, *incola*, or any other compound of the verb *colo*. This distinction is however apt to be obscured by the working of two laws of Latin Phonetics: the first, that the combination of letters *cl*, being inconvenient for pronunciation, was in ordinary speech liable to be helped by a parasitic vowel, and to become *cul*, so that the suffix *-clo* would become disyllabic *-culus*, *-culum*; the second, that an unaccented vowel after a long accented syllable was in danger of suffering Syncope (e.g. *iū-rigo*, *pūrigo*, etc., which occur in Plautus in this older form, were by the time of Terence contracted into the classical *iurgo*, *purgo*), so that it is conceivable that the Diminutive suffix, or rather double suffix, *-colo* might in certain cases be reduced to the form *-clus*, *-clum*. Let us examine how far these two processes have in the time of Plautus obscured the original formation of these words.

And first, do we find the Diminutive suffix *-co-lo* contracted in his verses? Such contraction is suggested by the reading of the MSS. in

Asin. 666 *dic igitur me tuum passerc(u)-lum, gallinam, coturnicem*.¹

Pers. 310 *equid quod mandavi tibi? estne in te spēc(u)lae? Abito*.

but in both cases the line is altered in the Ritschl edition:—

dic igitur me passerculum, gallinam, coturnicem. (Goetz and Loewe)

equid quod mandavi tibi est nunc speculae in te? Abito. (Ritschl)

It will be seen that the other apparent instances of contraction have even slighter authority. Thus in Cas. 837

meum corculam, melculam, verculum. Heistru,

¹ The word *passerculum* occurs only once again in Plautus, in v. 694 of this play. Here the MSS. give:—

hirundinem, monerulam, putillum, passerculum, which will not scan. The change to *passerculum putillum* (Goetz and Lowe) is simpler than that to *putillum passerculum*.

the Palatine MSS. give *melliculum*, which would have to be scanned as a trisyllable. But the Ambrosian palimpsest has *melculum*; and this form is expressly attested for this very passage by Priscian (*Inst.* iii. 27, p. 102, 17 H). So that Goetz is right in restoring *melculum* to Cure. 11:

ex dulci oriundum melculo dulci meo,

where the Palatine MSS. again offer the form *melliculum*, but where the Ambrosian palimpsest is not available for counter-evidence.

Stich. 91 appears in two Palatine MSS. C and D in this form:—

osculum. Sat est mihi osc(u)li vōstri. Qui amabō, pater,

but B and the Ambrosian palimpsest have

osculum. Sat est osculi mihi vōstri...

and this, the undoubtedly right reading, is accepted by editors.

In Rud. 1170:—

sacula. Quin tu i directa cum sacula et cum porculis,

if the first syllable of *sacula* be long, we shall have to scan *sūc(u)la*. Long *ū* is indicated by the Romance languages, for the Vulgar Latin prototype of Provençal *sulha* must have been *sūc(u)la* (Gröber *A.L.L.* v. p. 483); but the short quantity of the vowel is supported by such words as *sūcerdae*.

In Cas. 917, Schoell, who quite departs from the MSS. in this and the neighbouring lines, makes the metre iambic,

amabō, mea uxorela, inquam.

but the text of the whole passage is too doubtful to give even a slight measure of certainty to this abnormal form of the Diminutive.

It is clear then from a consideration of these examples that the balance of probability is against the use of the contracted form of the Diminutive double suffix *-co-lo* by Plautus. The same applies to other examples of *-culus*, *-culum*, where the vowel between *c* and *l* is original and not parasitic. A word like *porculus* where the Diminutive suffix *-lo* is added to the Stem *porco-* is not contracted to *porculus* any more than *corculum* to *corclum*, a fact which will make us suspicious of Rassow's explanation of *paniculum* in Mil. 18:—

quasi vētus folia aut paniculum tectorium.

In this line Rassow (*de Plauti Substantivis* p. 637) takes *paniculum* to be the Diminutive, not of *panus*, but of *panicum*, 'panic grass.' In the Dictionaries *panicum* is usually given with the second syllable short, but the Romance forms of the word, e.g. Ital. *panico*, show that it must have

been long. Rassow's hypothesis would then necessitate the questionable scansion *panīc(u)lūm*. Bücheler too reads *circlos* in in Accius Trag. 100 R. (ap. Nonium), where the MSS. of Nonius show *circulos*. But the true reading is probably *circos*.

As regards the suffix *-clo* the number of instances of the expanded form *-culus*, *-culum* is large enough to show that a rigorous law is out of the question. *Cubiculum*, for instance, with the probable exception of Cas. 965, always appears as a quadrisyllable in Plautus. But there are indications of a tendency on his part to use the expanded forms (especially when a long vowel precedes, according to Spengel *ad Adelp.* 304) rather at the end of a line or a hemistich than elsewhere; in other words, to treat the use of them as a licence, only to be resorted to in cases of metrical necessity. For example, *periculum* is the normal form of the word, while *periculūm* occurs perhaps only at the end of a line or hemistich.¹ Capt. 740 is a good example of this distinction:—

periculum vitae meae tuo stat periculo;
and it is only at the end of a line that the phrase *nullūm periculum* (e.g. Pseud. 1076) becomes *nullūm periculūm* (e.g. Capt. 91). *Poculum* too shows this full form usually in a similar position, while *sacculum* (for **sacillum*; see Wharton, *Etyma Latina*) is never a trisyllable at all. (Trin. 283 is a very doubtful exception.) In Men. 841 *mihī ēx oraculo imperas* (oraculo B, oraculo CD) is changed by Schoell to *tū mī ex oraculo imperas*; and *tabernaculum*, the form required in Amph. 428, is the reading of one Palatine MS., and of the editors, in v. 426, while the five-syllabled *tabernaculūm* appears at the end of a line, Trin. 726. Similarly the

¹ The two apparent exceptions are Rud. 169, Pers. 524 (in the Ambrosian palimpsest); but in both of these the editors read *periclo*.

combination *cl* in other words, not formed by means of the suffix *-clo*, is kept free from the parasitic vowel. *Vinculum*, for instance, which adds the suffix *-lo* to the stem *vinc-* (Brugmann, *Grundriss* ii. p. 192), assumes the trisyllabic form only in one passage, Capt. 204, and there at the end of the line. Goetz's alteration of the MSS. reading in Mil. 1006 is then unnecessary. He reads *tum haec celocula, illa absente, subigit me ut amem*. *Hercle hanc quidem*, to avoid the scansion *celoc(u)la*, which would be required by the reading indicated by the MSS.:

tum haec celoc(u)la, illa autem absente,...

Celocla must have been the original form, for the word is made by adding the Diminutive suffix *-lā* to the stem *celōc-*, and we should expect to find it without the parasitic vowel in the middle of the line.

In conclusion I would suggest that these considerations may throw some light on the formation of a word, which has been a great puzzle to etymologists, the word *cacula*, 'a soldier's servant.' It occurs in Trin. 721:—

video caculam militarem me futurum haud longius.

The Dictionaries give the word with its first syllable short, apparently following Quicherat, who in his *Thesaurus* supports this quantity by the wrong reading *cum matre et caculis* (for *casulis*), Juv. 9. 61. But the second Argument of the Pseudolus contains the word twice, in both cases with the first syllable long:—

vv. 14-15 *dat subditivo caculae cum symbolo* (MSS. *subditicio*)

lenōnem fallit sycophanta cacula,
so that the scansion in the line of the Trinummus must be *cāc(u)la*. This disyllabic form must have been the original form of the word, so that *cacula* represents an earlier *cacla*, not *cacola*.

W. M. LINDSAY.

ERRORS DUE TO CHANGE OF ALPHABET.

It is generally admitted that in our text of Homer many errors are due to mistakes in transcription from the older into the Euclidean alphabet. But the same principle cannot be safely extended to the texts of Thucydides and the Tragedians. To assume e.g. that Thucydides wrote TON meaning τῶν, that this was wrongly transcribed τῶν. and appears in this erroneous form in all our MSS., involves the following dilemma. Either all

our MSS. must go back to an original old-Attic MS., which was not 'transcribed' until the sense of Attic as a living language was lost, or else it must be considered that the modern scholar is in a position to correct blunders in idiom which universally passed muster in the time of Demosthenes. Since the official adoption of the new alphabet in 403 B.C. probably marked the completion of its ascendancy, we may fairly assume that

an old-Attic Thucydides was a comparative rarity by the time of Demosthenes, as the process of modernization in spelling would be very rapid: it would occupy, in fact, much the same position as a black-letter Bible now. It is therefore improbable that all our MSS. can be referred to an old-Attic original. The alternative hypothesis is even less likely. Errors of transcription can therefore only be assumed where it can be shown that the usage of Thucydides differed from that of mature Attic: even here correction is rash. In the case of the Tragedians the improbability is even greater, since the orator Lycurgus (X. Orat. 841 F) passed a decree ordering the preparation of an 'Authorized Version,' from which, we may be sure, all subsequent copies would come.

The view here put forward as to errors in transcription into the Euclidean alphabet, as distinct from the itacism of later copyists, is in harmony with Mr. Monro's words (*H. G.*

2nd ed. p. 385): the change, he says, 'would not lead to practical difficulty with a living language.' Of the language of Homer we know actually more in some respects, chiefly owing to the help of Comparative Philology, than did Plato: it would be rash to say we know more of that of Thucydides than did Demosthenes. Accordingly Mr. Marchant's view (in his admirable edition of Thuc. II. p. xxviii.) that 'some of the earliest errors are probably due to the transcribing of his history into the Ionic alphabet after his death' must be pronounced improbable. Nor does Prof. Jebb's preference (in *Soph. Ant.* 572) of Αἴμων of other MSS. over Αἴμων of the Laurentian receive any support from the fact that 'Soph. would have written AIMON,' unless it can be shown that the Attic feeling as to preference of nom. to voc. or *vice versa* in such phrases had changed by 325 B.C.

FRANK CARTER.

CONDITIONAL SENTENCES IN GREEK AND LATIN:—INDEFINITE SENTENCES IN GREEK.

II.

IN May 1890 the editor of the *Classical Review* was good enough to publish a paper in which I ventured to assail the received views held on certain Conditional Sentences in Greek and Latin and Indefinite Sentences in Greek. The paper was in substance the same as one I had read before the Cambridge Philological Society in May 1889. Since the latter date my contentions have been several times adversely criticised in this *Review*; by Mr. Seaton in a brief note in September 1889, by Mr. Caskie Harrison in July 1890, and lastly by Mr. Clapp in Nov. 1891. Also Mr. Whitelaw, who has taken great interest in the discussion, has been so kind as to communicate to me privately two papers in which he maintains with his usual lucidity and vigour the accepted views. Some reply, or an acknowledgment of defeat, seems now due from me, and I proceed to offer the former. I am really sorry to say that at present at any rate I cannot strike my colours.

1. *Conditional Sentences.*—I wrote 'No Conditional Sentence can of itself convey any implication either as to the facts or the speaker's impression of the facts. The hearer knows (if he knows at all) whether

the condition is or is not fulfilled, by independent knowledge already in his possession.' Mr. Clapp calls this an 'inexplicable assertion.' Mr. Seaton admits that he 'cannot at the moment point to a case in which this information is conveyed by the conditional sentence alone,' but adds 'that fact by no means proves that it could not have been so conveyed.' But in what part of such sentences as εἰ ἐποίησεν (ἐποίησε), ἤδίκησεν (ἤδίκησε) ἄν, si fecisset &c. is the information conveyed? The only answer I can get from those who maintain this view is 'In the sentence'; which reminds me of the art-critic in *Punch* who being pressed to say *where* was the beauty in a certain picture which enraptured him, while he admitted every single detail to be bad, could only continue to repeat 'In the pietchar.' Until a few weeks ago I thought I had my audacious opinion all to myself, when to my surprise I stumbled on the following passage in Kühner's *Grammar*, vol. 3, p. 972.¹

¹ I owe an apology to readers of the *Review* for not having noticed the passage before; but it occurs in his introductory remarks to the Conditional Sentence, and I passed it over thinking it would only express the ordinary view.

‘Die Verneinung der Wirklichkeit liegt nicht in der Form des Ausdrückes selbst; denn der Indikativ der historischen Zeitformen bezeichnet, nothwendig immer eine vergangene Erscheinung oder Wirklichkeit: *du hattest (besasest), gabst*; die Verneinung ist bloss eine gefolgerte.’ He goes on to show that it is ‘gefolgerte’ through that independent knowledge of which I spoke above:—‘z.B. wenn du Etwas hattest, so gabst du; nun aber hast du, *wie ich weiss*, nichts gehabt; aus diesem Gegensatze wird nun auf die Nichtwirklichkeit der einen wie der anderen Handlung geschlossen.’ My critics will not be surprised if I say that on this great scholar’s support I make bold for the present to rest; and I hope Mr. Seaton will no longer feel any hesitation about joining me. It is the more strange that Professor Goodwin can (apparently) maintain that in such sentences *ei ἴσθι*, when a main condition, implies its own non-fulfilment, when he admits (as of course he must) that it does not do so as a sub-condition.

But if non-fulfilment is not necessarily implied by the form of the expression, is it inseparable from it? Why should it be? Mr. Whitelaw admits that ‘it is possible to frame sentences [of the type in question] in which this [non-fulfilment of condition] is not necessarily implied,’ but adds that ‘usage has stamped sentences of this form with the sense of non-fulfilment.’ He thus grants the very basis of my ‘inexplicable assertion.’ So also does Mr. Harrison, who writes ‘the unreality, though a secondary acquisition, has become inherent.’ I venture to affirm that although in 99 cases out of a 100 we know by independent knowledge, or from the frequency of the formula correctly guess, that the condition is unfulfilled, in the 100th we know nothing at all about it, any more than the speaker himself, who has formed no opinion; while in many sentences of the class the condition is actually fulfilled. I claim to have shown this by some of the examples in my former paper, though I confess that others (*Verr. 3. 29* and *Aen. 6. 879*, for instance) are not in point. Mr. Harrison disposes of *Livy 22. 24, Verr. 4. 23, Cic. Man. 11*, as ‘potentials of the past not yet developed into unrels.’ But the translation of *qui videret...diceret* is if any man had seen, he would (not could) have said; and even ‘potentials’ always imply a condition, and the condition is frequently expressed. So *Xen. Hell. 3. 4. 18 ἐπερωσθη ἂν τις ἰδόν* means a man would (not could or might) have been cheered, if he had seen.

These are general hypothetical statements with a condition appended or implied which we know must have been fulfilled in numberless instances.

The attempts to deal with my Stoic and Wasp example are as unsuccessful as I could wish. Mr. Harrison says, ‘in rendering...I must first determine whether or not I deny that a wasp ever stung a Stoic!’; for the former interpretation I use only the past unreal formula: for the latter I use iterative, indefinite, general forms, including the Latin imperf. subj. in both members.’ That is to say that when, after reflection, he has come to the conclusion that the ancient wasp did not regard Stoics as *sacrosancti*, he will use one of the formulae in dispute. Perhaps he will rejoice that he is forming his sentence on *Hor. Sat. i. 3. 4 Caesar si peteret, non proficeret*; but what if I claim this and kindred sentences as making for my contention? Mr. Whitelaw in dealing with the example adds what he conceives to be the circumstances attending the observation:—‘Somebody has been stung and has jumped. He pleads, or his friends plead for him, “even a Stoic in Chrysippus’ time would have done the same”; the unreal supposition being “If instead of happening to him now, the thing had happened to a Stoic in the time of Chrysippus.”’ But I gave no surroundings, and I now offer the example again thus:—‘Gentlemen, I propose for our discussion this evening *The Limits of Self-control*. By way of a start I make the following proposition, “Even Chrysippus, when far advanced in Stoic discipline, would have jumped, if a wasp had stung him”; *Vel Chrysippus, cum tantos progressus haberet in Stoicis, subsiliret (subsiliisset?), si vespa eum momordisset*.’ Mr. Clapp writes, ‘when we say “Even a Stoic” &c., the form of the sentence shows that the writer is thinking of the case as not having actually taken place.’ But this is to beg the very question we are discussing; and see immediately above. What did Madvig think when he restored the *si* in the following passage—*Cic. Tusc. ii. 60? Quia, si, cum tantum operae philosophiae dedissem, dolorem tamen ferre non possem, satis esset argumenti malum esse dolorem. Plurimos autem annos in philosophia consumpsi nec ferre possum: malum est igitur dolor*.¹

¹ Mr. Whitelaw’s explanation of this passage is similar to the one ordinarily given of *Hor. Sat. i. 3. 4 Caesar si peteret, non proficeret*:—‘I stood to prove or disprove to myself in my own person the doctrine that pain is no evil: if, after all my application to philosophy, I gave way to pain, then it would be proved [that would be proof enough: would be=

Again it must be obvious that in all cases of alternative and mutually exclusive conditions this rule of non-fulfilment cannot hold. Take this instance:—A medical man lets himself into a sick man's house and says to himself, 'I wonder if he is dead, the house is very quiet; but still it would be equally quiet, whether he were dead or not.' Mr. Whitelaw says that my Latin and Greek for this (εἴτε ἐτεθνήκει, εἴτε μὴ, ὁμοίως ἂν ἦν ἡσυχος ἢ οἰκία : *sive esset, sive non esset mortuus, tacerent omnia*) would mean that, in the speaker's opinion, the patient was neither dead nor not dead! But can I never put such an abstract proposition as the following as a basis for argument:—*nonne hoc verum? si dedisses, haberem; si non dedisses, non haberem* (εἰ ἔδωκας, εἶχον ἂν, εἰ δὲ μὴ, οὐ)?¹ Mr. Whitelaw's remark seems to me to reduce the rule *ad absurdum*.

The following examples speak for themselves and, I think, for me. Dem. 28. 5 ἀλλ' ἐχρῆν, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστ' ἐτελεύτησεν ὁ πατήρ... παρασημειῖναι κελύσαι τὰς διαθήκας, ἵν' εἰ τι ἐγίγνετο ἀμφισβητήσιμον (the very thing that did happen), ἦν εἰς τὰ γράμματα ταῦτ' ἐπαυελθεῖν. *Id.* 29. 47 εἰ μὲν τοῖνυν ὁ πατήρ ἠπίσται τοῖτοισι, δῶλον ὅτι οὐκ ἂν τάλλα ἐπέτρεπεν οὗτ' ἂν ἐκεῖν' οὕτω καταλιπὼν αὐτοῖς ἐφραζεν ὥστε πόθεν ἴσασιν; εἰ δ' ἐπίστανεν, οὐκ ἂν δήπου τὰ μὲν πλείστ' αὐτοῖς τῶν χρημάτων ἐνεχείρισε, τῶν δ' οὐκ ἂν κυρίου ἐποίησεν. *Id.* 25. 69 εἰ τοῖνυν τις ὀφείλειεν τιν' ἡτῶτο χρήματα, ὁ δ' ἡρνέιτο, εἰ μὲν ἐφάνιτο αἶ τε συνθῆκαι καθ' ἃς ἔδανείσαστο κείμεναι καὶ οἱ τεθνέτες ὅροι ἐστηκότες, τὸν ἀρνούμενον ἡγεῖσθ' ἂν ἀναίδῃ δηλονότι, εἰ δ' ἀνῆρημένα ταῦτα, τὸν ἐγκαλοῦντα. *Id.* 23. 96 πολλαὶ γὰρ προφάσεις εἰσὶ δι' ἃς πολλάκις ὑμεῖς ἐξηπάτησθε. οὐκ αἶ τι τῶν ἡλωκότων ψηφισμάτων παρ' ὑμῖν μὴ ἐγράφη, κύριον ἂν δῆπουθεν ἦν καὶ μὴν παρὰ τοὺς νόμους γ' ἂν εἴρητο. καὶ εἰ τί γε γραφὴν ἢ καθυφέντων τῶν κατηγορῶν ἢ μὴ δυνηθέντων μηδὲν διδάξαι ἀπέφυγε, καὶ τοῦτο οὐδὲν κωλύει παράνομον εἶναι.

But even if the rule could be shown to be sound, I should hold that, whereas it is now made the basis of the classification of Conditional Sentences, it is for teaching purposes worse than useless. (To show this was the main object of my former paper.) The fourth—*ἐμελλεν ἵσασθαι* that pain was an evil. And now, I have devoted' &c. He thinks the time referred to is not present. Perhaps; but after all, my view of the sentences covers such passages as these: an independent conditional sentence is couched in one of the forbidden formulae, and the condition is not unfulfilled. I should translate:—'Suppose me not to have been able..., although I had applied myself..., that would be proof enough' &c. The time of *esset* might be present, even though that of *possem* were past.

¹ I am aware that in Latin the indicative was usually preferred for alternative conditions.

form boy, even if he stops to think, cannot distinguish between actually contrary to fact and 'subjectively contrary to fact' (to use Mr. Clapp's neat but for schoolboys self-condemnatory phrase), and so blunders hopelessly. If he turns this kind of sentence correctly, he is guided, as I fancy most of us were at his stage, firstly by the time referred to and secondly by the *would have* and *if...had* of the English.

2. *Indefinite Sentences.* Prof. Goodwin, Mr. Arthur Sidgwick, Mr. F. E. Thompson and others distinguish Greek Conditional Sentences as (1) Ordinary and (2) General, and they call εἰ τι μὴ φέρομεν, ὥτρυνεν φέρεν—I think 'General,' but am not quite sure. I submit (1) that these two terms are so alike as to be indistinguishable without special effort by the ordinary or general boy: (2) such sentences as the one just quoted from the *Alcestis* are not essentially conditional at all; the protasis (as the apodosis shows) is always fulfilled and merely designates the *time-when* of the apodosis. It is, therefore, in fact a temporal clause. If any one, after considering the new classification which I propose, still thinks the old is better, there is no more to be said.

I further proposed to exclude from the class 'Indefinite' all sentences in which the *time* is not indefinite, and I attempted to show how this could be done and the desirability of doing it. The present classification confuses indefinite-time sentences with ordinary relative sentences (whereas the moods respectively required are not the same), and this (I wrote in my former paper) 'with injurious consequences to learners.' I am now disposed to add, howsoever at my peril, 'and to others besides.' To my amazement two most eminent scholars, one from each University, tell me they believe ὅστις ἂν ᾄδῃ to be good Attic Greek for *whosoever is singing at this moment*. According to my present lights I believe ὅστις ᾄδει to be the only good rendering of this English and ὅστις ἂν ᾄδῃ to be absolutely incorrect, and I ask for an example from the literature. The present classification (confusion?) of 'Indefinite' Sentences turns upon this point, and until the crucial instance is produced, I hope my ἀμετάπειστον will be regarded as excusable. M. A. BAYFIELD.

P.S.—If the present classification is too dear to be abandoned, what do the grammarians say to calling the first class 'Ordinary Conditional Sentences' and the second class 'Extraordinary Conditional Sentences'?

THE SUBJUNCTIVE OF PURPOSE IN RELATIVE CLAUSES IN GREEK.

PROFESSOR TARBELL'S brief notice of 'The Deliberative Subjunctive in Relative Clauses in Greek,' published in the July number of the *Review* (p. 302), informed me that I had not been a mare's-nesting alone in a rather out-of-the-way corner of Greek syntax.

Some years ago my attention was arrested by the construction of the subjunctive in Xen. *Anab.* I. 7, 7: ὥστε οὐ τοῦτο δέδοικα μὴ οὐκ ἔχω ὃ τι δῶ ἐκάστω τῶν φίλων, ἂν εὖ γένηται, ἀλλὰ μὴ οὐκ ἔχω ἱκανοὺς οἷς δῶ, and also in the similar passage Xen. *Anab.* II. 4, 19—20: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν πολλὰί γεφύραι ὄσιν, ἔχομεν ἂν ὅποιοι φυγόντες ἡμεῖς σὺ θῶμεν. ἂν δὲ ἡμεῖς νικῶμεν, λελυμένης τῆς γεφύρας οὐχ ἔξουσιν ἐκεῖνοι ὅποιοι φύωσιν.

The construction appeared to me then, as it still does, after comparison of other passages, one of purpose; for we might—*grammaticae causa*—write in the former passage ὅπως (ἂν) αὐτοῖς δῶ, and in the latter τόπον ἐπιτήδειον ὅπως (ἂν) ἐκεῖσε φυγόντες σθῶμεν.

I was glad to find my view supported by so excellent an authority as Professor Goodwin. His several statements on the subject are as follows:

Gk. Moods and Tenses (ed. 7, 1879) § 65, I, n. 1 (a) (p. 138):

'The Future Indicative is the only form regularly used in prose after the relative in this sense' (i.e. to express purpose).

Ibid. § 65, I, n. 3 (a) (p. 139):

'The Attic Greek allows the subjunctive in such phrases as ἔχει ὃ τι εἴπῃ, *he has something to say*; where the irregularity seems to be caused by the analogy of the common expression οὐκ ἔχει ὃ τι (or τί) εἴπῃ, equivalent to οὐκ οἶδεν ὃ τι εἴπῃ, *he knows not what he shall say*, which contains an indirect statement' (i.e. an indirect deliberative question).

Under the second of these statements, which obviously bears directly upon the point in question, we find cited as the first example Isoc. *Pan.* p. 49 C. § 44 (one of Professor Tarbell's examples): Τοιοῦτον ἔθος παρέδοσαν, ὥστε...ἐκατέρους ἔχειν ἐφ' οἷς φιλοτιμηθῶσιν, with the translation *that both may have things in which they 'may glory.'* Goodwin adds in parenthesis:

'Here there is no indirect question, for the meaning is not that they may know in what they are to glory,' and he cites his note appended to Feltn's *Isocrates*, p. 135, which I quote here for the sake of comparison.

'The peculiar use of the subjunctive in ἔχειν ἐφ' οἷς φιλοτιμηθῶσιν may perhaps be explained by the analogy of the common construction οὐκ ἔχω τί (or ὃ τι) εἴπω, *non habeo quid dicam*, where the indirect question is obvious. The transition from οὐκ ἔχω ὃ τι εἴπω to ἔχω ὃ τι εἴπω might be easily made, although in the latter all trace of the indirect question disappears. Other similar examples are cited by Krüger (*Gr. Gr.* § 54, 7, A. 2), in all of which the leading verb is ἔχω. These are Plat. *Symp.* p. 194 D [another of Professor Tarbell's examples], εἰ μόνον ἔχη ὅπως διαλέγεται, and Xen. *Oecon.* 7, 20, ἔξεν ὃ τι εἰσφέρειωσιν. In Plat. *Phaedr.* p. 255 E [one of Professor Tarbell's examples, wrongly cited as 254 E] and Lysias in *Andoc.* § 42, we have the same construction, if we accept Bekker's emendation ὃ τι λέγῃ for ὃ τι λέγει, which the sense seems to require. Compare also Plat. *Ion* p. 535 B, where we find ἀπορεῖς ὃ τι λέγῃς and εὑπορεῖς ὃ τι λέγῃς in the same sentence; here the transition is especially simple. Even if we explain εὑπορεῖς ὃ τι λέγῃς as an indirect question [though it seems clearly quite equivalent to ἔχεις ὃ τι λέγῃς, cf. ἵππων εὑπορήσαντες = ἵππους λαβόντες, Xen. *Hellen.* I. 35], it seems a perversion of language to apply that name to the others as Krüger does. Of course, these remarks will not apply to the doubtful example Thucyd. vii. 25, discussed in the note [i.e. in an insertion in Feltn's commentary on Isocrates *Pan.*, loc. cit.], or to the cases of the optative there quoted.' The passages from Plat. *Symp.* and Xen. *Oecon.* are cited in the *Moods and Tenses* (loc. cit.).

Goodwin's note referred to in the last quotation deserves to be given here in full, as follows:

'The subjunctive and optative are very rare in this construction in Attic Greek, the future indicative being the only regular form. In Homer, however, the subjunctive and optative are commonly used, this older construction corresponding precisely to the Latin, as the relation of the two languages would lead us to expect. Another (doubtful) Attic example of the subjunctive may be found in Thuc. vii. 25, πρῶσβεις ἄγωνα, οἵτερ φράσωσιν, καὶ...ἐποτρύνωσιν. Krüger, in his note on this passage of Thuc. (2d edit., 1861), is very severe on those who retain οἵτερ with the subjunctive, for which

he substitutes *ὅπως* on the authority of a single MS. [Classen's note on the passage (2d. edit. 1884), is this: '*ὅπως* aus dem vat. st. *οὔτε* von den neueren Herausgg. aufgenommen, da das Relativpronomen mit einem Konjunktiv des Zweckes im attischen Sprachgebrauch nicht nachzuweisen ist.'] He explains *φιλοτιμηθῶσιν*, in the present passage of Isocrates, as a subjunctive in an (indirect) dubitative question [i.e. the explanation of Professor Tarbell, following Madvig]. The following examples of the aorist optative, however, show at least that the older construction was not unknown to the Attic poets:—*ἄνδρα δ' οὐδέν' ἔντοπον, οὐδ' ὅστις ἀρκέσειεν οὐδ' ὅστις... σὺ λ' ἀβοιτῶ*, Soph. *Phil.* 280; *γόνιμον δὲ ποιήτην ἂν οὐχ εὔροις ἐπὶ ζητῶν ἂν, ὅστις ῥῆμα γενναῖον λ' ἀκοι*, Aristoph. *Ran.* 96. In ver. 98 of the *Ran.* we find the regular Attic construction, *ὅστις φθέγγεται*, referring to precisely the same thing as *ὅστις λάκοι* above. Both these examples of the optative must be explained as relative sentences, and the subjunctive is certainly not more objectionable than the optative. Nor can the present example from Isocr. be explained as interrogative without great violence to the sense; the idea is not *that they may know what they are to glory in*; but, *that they may have things in which they may glory*. See also, *ὑφ' οὗ πεισθέντες πρόσιπθε*, Dem. *Phil.* ii. § 8.

In *G. M. and T.* § 65, n. 3 (b) (ed. 7 n.) we find the statement: 'The Present or Aorist Optative very rarely occurs in Attic Greek after a past tense, but more frequently after another optative.' The examples are those given above with the addition of Plat. *Rep.* iii. 398 B, *ὅς μιμοῖτο καὶ λέγοι* (depending on *χρώμεθα ἂν*). Dem. *Phil.* ii. § 8 appears as Dem. *Phil.* ii. 67, 20 (with fuller text and *προείσαθε* for *πρόσιπθε*).

Goodwin, however, is hardly consistent in his treatment; for under *G. M. and T.* § 71 (ed. 7th): 'when a question in the direct form would be expressed by an *interrogative Subjunctive*, indirect questions after primary tenses retain the Subjunctive; after secondary tenses the Subjunctive may be either changed to the same tense of the Optative or retained in its original form,' we find not only Aesch. *P.* 471 (Professor Tarbell's first example), but also (albeit with the qualification that it 'may be explained on this principle as an interrogative, or by § 65, 1, n. 3 [see above], as a relative clause') Xen. *Anab.* i. 7, 7, which clearly belongs to the other class of passages; and this incon-

sistency will be found in the revised edition (1890) of the *G. M. and T.*

In this new edition we find the first statement cited above from the old edition unchanged in §§ 572—3. The examples of the optative under § 573 comprise (besides Soph. *Phil.* 281 of Professor Tarbell's list) Soph. *Tr.* 903, *κρύψας' εαυτὴν ἔνθα μή τις εἰσίδοι, βρυχάτο* (a verse which does not well suit the context as it stands, and which I suspect to be corrupt), and Plat. *Rep.* 578 E, *εἰ τις θεῶν ἄνδρα θεῖα εἰς ἐρημίαν, ὅπον αὐτῷ μηδεὶς μέλλοι βοηθήσειν*, in which latter, however, the optative is merely an ordinary instance of attraction of mood, the idea of purpose being contained in *μέλλειν* without regard to the mood. (Goodwin's remark in parenthesis 'this may be purely conditional' is a good example of the mental bias which has led him to drag in a 'condition' at every turn to the great detriment of a valuable work.)

As will be seen by the quotations I have made, more than one-half of Professor Tarbell's examples—'of the phenomenon which had not been recognized by any previous grammarian'—have been examined and discussed by Krüger and Goodwin.

It seems to me now that τὰ πολλὰ *προκόψας*, οὐ πολλοῦ πόνου με δεῖ in setting in clear light the source of the error into which Professor Tarbell and others have fallen in discussing the construction in hand. The trouble, I believe, lies entirely in the ambiguity of *ἔχω* = 1. 'I have,' 2. 'I know' = *οἶδα* (cf. *κατέχω* in Romanic), 3. 'I am able' = *δύναμαι*, and of *ὅστις* = 1. an indefinite or general relative, (2) *τίς* introducing an indirect question. To *ἔχω*¹ answers *ἔστι* with a personal pronoun in the dative expressed or understood, and the definite or particular relative may, as we have seen above, be used as well as the indefinite or general, though this is less common.

It remains for me, before enumerating and commenting upon some examples which I have collected from my own reading, to examine the three examples which Professor Tarbell gives of a so-called deliberative clause after other verbs than *ἔχω* and *ἔστι*.

Soph. *Phil.* 938: *ἡμῖν τὰδ', οὐ γὰρ ἄλλον οἶδ' ὅτ' ἔγω* may be paraphrased *οὐ γὰρ ἄλλον ἔχω, καθὰ οἶδα, ὅτ' ἔγω*. The fact that the antecedent is here expressed seems enough to show that there is no relation with an indirect question. So Isocr. xxi. 1: *Οὐ προφάσεως ἂπορῶ, δι' ἣντινα ἔγω ὑπὲρ Νικίου τουνού = ἔχω πρόφασιν κτέ*, where also the antecedent is expressed.

In Soph. *Phil.* 279 *εἰς ὅρῳτα μὲν ναῦς, ἄς*

ἔχων ἐναυστόλουν, | πάσας βεβώσας, ἄνδρα δ' οὐδέν' ἔντοπον, | οὐχ (ἄνδρα) ὅστις ἀρκέσειεν, οὐδ' (ἄνδρα) ὅστις νόσον | κάμνοντι συλλάβοιτο, the object of ὄρωντα is not ναῦς but ναῦς βεβώσας (the fact of their departure), and it does no violence to the thought to supply ἔχοντα governing ἄνδρα. At all events, the expression is but a short step beyond the customary.

In the first of my examples from the *Anabasis* (vid. supra) ἔχω is evidently ἔχω¹ and the sentence is to be explained like that in Isocr. *Pan.* In Romaic one would say δέ(ν) φοβοῦμαι (φοβῶμαι) να μὴν ἔχω τίποτε να δώσω (δώκω), an additional proof, as I believe, that the explanation of such a construction as one of purpose is in accordance with the genius of the Greek language. In my second example, although I am inclined to take ἔχω as ἔχω,¹ it may be understood as ἔχω,² and the dependent clause will then contain a deliberative subjunctive. In Xen. *Hellen.* I. 3. 21 and I. 4. 15 there is a like possible ambiguity.

In Soph. *Antig.* 270 sqq. : οὐ γὰρ εἶχομεν | οὐτ' ἀντιφωνεῖν οὐθ' ὅπως δρώντες καλῶς | πράξαμεν, the infinitive in the first member seems to prove (as Professor Jebb thinks who cites as parallel *Al.* 428, cf. his note *ad loc.*) that ἔχω here is ἔχω.²

Eur. *Orest.* 722 sq. : κοῦκέτ' εἰσὶν ἐλπίδες, | ὅποι τραπόμενος θάνατον Ἀργείων φύγω is another instance of the purpose-construction.

Eur. *Alc.* 120 sq. : οὐκ ἔχω ἐπὶ τίνα | μηλοθύταν πορευθῶ κτέ. seems clearly an instance of ἔχω² as shown by the interrogative pronoun.

Aesch. *Ag.* 1530 sqq. : ἀμνηχῶ φροντίδος στερηθεῖς—ὅπα τράπωμαι is again an example of the indirect deliberative. Notice that here the phrase ἀμνηχῶ φροντίδος στερηθεῖς is a strong οὐκ οἶδα.

A good example of the purpose-construction from a later writer is Plut. *Caes.* c. 5 : οὕτω διέθηκε τὸν δῆμον, ὥς καινὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς, καινὰς δὲ τιμὰς ζητεῖν ἕκαστον, αἷς αὐτὸν ἀμείψαιεντο, unless this be deemed a Latinism.

If the MSS. are to be trusted, we sometimes have the optative of purpose, instead of the subjunctive, after primary tenses. Cf. Eur. *Alc.* 112—117 : ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ναυκληρίαν | ἔσθ' ὅποι τις—παρὰλύσαι (MSS. -λύσαι, Nauck -λύσει), Aesch. *Prom.* 291 sq. οὐκ ἔστιν ὄφρ' | μείζονα μοῖραν νείμαιμ' ἢ σοί (cited by Jerram, *ad Eur. Alc. loc. cit.*), Aesch. *Cho.* 172 : οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις πλὴν ἐμοῦ κείραιτό νῦν (*M.* κείρετό νῦν). Other examples of this construction, some emendable to the subjunctive, are given, along with instances of the optative without ἄν in direct questions, in Mr. Sidgwick's valuable Appendix I. of his edition of the *Choephoroe*.

In conclusion I add one example (there are doubtless others in Attic writers) of the relative clause of purpose after δίδωμι—Hes. *Op.* 57 sq. : τοῖς δ' ἐγὼ ἀντὶ πυρὸς δώσω κακὸν ὃ κεν ἅπαντες—τέρπωνται κατὰ θυμὸν ἔόν κακὸν ἀμφαγαπῶντες.

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THE Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία AND THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE YEARS 462—445.

Or the many novelties provided for us by Mr. Kenyon's papyrus, not the least startling is the assertion, that in the archonship of Conon, B.C. 462—1, Themistocles was still in Athens, awaiting his trial on a charge of medism. It has been pointed out, alike by Rühl (*Rhein. Mus.* 46, p. 426 ff.) and by Bauer (*Forschungen zu Aristoteles' Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία*), that Themistocles' presence in Athens in the year 462—1 is quite irreconcilable with the received chronology of this period of Greek history; and in Bauer's work we have an elaborate attempt to revise the dates hitherto assigned to the events of the years 462—445. I observe that Mr. Kenyon, while accepting without hesitation

the statements of ch. 25 of the Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία, adheres throughout his notes to the customary dates. He puts, for instance, the battle of the Eurymedon in 466, and the reduction of Thasos in 463; he has apparently not noticed that it can be proved from Thucydides that both these events followed the ostracism of Themistocles, and must therefore be placed after 462, if we are to admit the authority of the Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία.

That the presence of Themistocles in Athens in 462 cannot be reconciled with the usual chronology will not, I imagine, be seriously disputed. It is quite another question, and a far more interesting one,

whether it can be reconciled with the information Thucydides gives us as to the events of the so-called Pentecontaetia. In attempting an answer to this question, it will be wisest not to appeal to any evidence beyond that afforded by Thucydides himself, except in so far as it will be necessary to refer to a passage in Herodotus, and to one or two inscriptions, and to assume the correctness of the date hitherto assigned to the accession of Artaxerxes. It is a date which Bauer himself admits as beyond question. Those who accept the Aristotelian authorship of the *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία* would naturally reject any evidence derived from secondary sources, such as Plutarch or Diodorus, if it should conflict with the testimony of the papyrus. If we have to make our choice between Thucydides on the one hand, and the *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία* on the other, there are few who would venture to maintain that it is the authority of the latter that must be preferred.

According to the *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία* Themistocles is in Athens, awaiting his trial for medism, in the year 462-1. This charge cannot be the one referred to by Thucydides in i. 136, for that was brought against him after his ostracism, while he was living at Argos. It follows therefore that his ostracism must have taken place at some time or other after Ephialtes had carried out his reform of the Areopagus. Now from ch. 43 of the *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία* it appears that a preliminary vote was necessary before the ostracophoria could take place; this preliminary vote was taken only once a year, in the sixth prytany, and a fragment of Philochorus is generally held to prove that the ostracophoria itself was held in the eighth prytany. If therefore Themistocles was not ostracised in the eighth prytany of 462-1, say April 461, he cannot have been ostracised till April 460, at the earliest. Bauer and Mr. Kenyon assume that his ostracism did take place in 461, but I think this view can be proved untenable. If Themistocles played the part in the attack on the Areopagus which is attributed to him by the *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία*, his ostracism within the next nine months could only be regarded as a triumph for the supporters of the old régime; it could only mean that the victory of Ephialtes had been followed by a reaction in favour of the conservative party—a reaction of so pronounced a character, that the opponents of the democratic party felt themselves strong enough by January 461 to propose an appeal to the ostraca. Such a reaction within less than six months is not

very probable; that as a matter of fact it did not occur can, I think, be proved from a passage in the very treatise we are discussing. It appears from ch. 26 that the assassination of Ephialtes took place within this same year 462-1, and the assassination of a political opponent is hardly the deed of men who believe that 'the flowing tide is with them.' The murder of Ephialtes has always been recognised as a counsel of despair.

The earliest possible date for the ostracism of Themistocles would therefore be the spring of 460, and even if we crowd all the incidents of Thucydides, i. 135-137 into the space of six months, we cannot bring him to Ephesus before the autumn of the same year. For his residence at Argos, his flight, first to Corecyra, then to Admetus, and thence to Pydna and Ephesus, twelve or eighteen months would undoubtedly be a more reasonable time to allow than six months.

In any case then he cannot have reached Ephesus before the autumn of 460. This date I propose to submit to four tests. Can it be harmonised (i) with the date of the accession of Artaxerxes; (ii) with the date of the Athenian disaster at Drabescus; (iii) with the date of the surrender of Aegina; (iv) with the date of the thirty years' peace? If it can be shown that a chronology, which starts from the assumption that Themistocles arrived at Ephesus in the autumn of 460, cannot be harmonised with these four dates, three of which are indisputable, and the fourth as certain as almost any date in ancient history, we shall know what to think of the historical insight of the author of ch. 25 of the *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία*.

To take first the accession of Artaxerxes. This seems fixed for midsummer 465. (See Busolt, 2. 390-391.) The autumn of 460 would therefore fall within the sixth year of his reign. Now it was at the time when Themistocles wrote to him (*i.e.* several months after the arrival at Ephesus, see Thucydides, i. 137) that he is described by Thucydides as νεωστὶ βασιλεύων. Is it possible that Thucydides, a writer so exact in his use of words, could speak of a king, who at the very least was near the end of the sixth year of his reign, as having recently ascended the throne? Even Bauer does not pretend that νεωστὶ is quite so elastic an expression; he only claims for it that it might include the third year of his reign, unluckily forgetting that by his own showing the sixth, and not the third year of Artaxerxes'

reign was already beginning when Themistocles wrote his letter to him. (Compare pp. 179-180 with p. 71.)

To turn next to the Athenian overthrow at Drabescus. In iv. 102 Thucydides tells us that between the attempt of Aristagoras to found a city on the site of Amphipolis, and the massacre of the 10,000 colonists by the Thracians at Drabescus, thirty-two years had elapsed, and that twenty-eight years more were to be reckoned from this disaster at Drabescus to the foundation of Amphipolis by Hagnon. Thus from Aristogoras to Hagnon we have an interval of sixty years, and if we can fix either the year of Aristagoras' attempt, or the year of Hagnon's foundation, we shall be able to determine the date of the disaster at Drabescus. The date of Aristagoras' attempt can be determined from Herodotus, for a comparison of the words at the beginning of v. 108 (*ἐν ᾧ δὲ ἡ ἀγγελίη τε παρὰ βασιλέα ἀνίη καὶ Δαρείος ... Ἰστιάω ἐς λόγους ἦλθε καὶ Ἰστιάος μεμετιμένος ὑπὸ Δαρείου ἐκομίζετο ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἐν τούτῳ παντὶ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐγένετο τάδε*) with the first three lines of book vi. (*Ἀρισταγόρης μὲν νυν Ἴωνῆν ἀποστήσας οὕτω τελευτᾷ. Ἰστιάος δὲ μεμετιμένος ὑπὸ Δαρείου παρὴν ἐς Σάρδεις*) renders it certain that Herodotus put the death of Aristagoras within the same year as his flight from Miletus, *i.e.* in the year 497. This would give 465 as the year of the Athenian overthrow at Drabescus, and 437 as the year of the foundation of Amphipolis. This, as a matter of fact, is the date assigned to Hagnon's colony both by Diodorus (xii. 32) and the scholiast on Aeschines, and it seems to be generally allowed that a later date than this would be improbable. The disaster at Drabescus, however, occurred during the siege of Thasos (Thuc. i. 100), so that the revolt of Thasos cannot be put later than 465, and the siege of Naxos must belong to the year 466; for between the surrender of Naxos, and the revolt of Thasos, time must be found for the battle of the Eurymedon (Thuc. i. 100). Now Themistocles, on his voyage across the Aegean, passed the Athenian fleet which was blockading Naxos (Thuc. i. 137): if then he reached Ephesus in the autumn of 460, the siege of Naxos must have been in 460 instead of 466, and the revolt of Thasos and the Athenian overthrow in Thrace could not be put earlier than 459. This date would involve us in two conclusions, each of which is quite out of the question. Firstly, we should have to put Aristagoras' attempted colonization of Ennea Hodoi in 491, six years after his flight from Ionia;

and secondly, we should have to suppose that Amphipolis was founded in 431. Even Bauer, who thinks 491 not an impossible date for the attempt of Aristagoras, admits that 431 is inconceivable in the case of Amphipolis. It is perhaps unnecessary to discuss his proposed emendation of the text of Thucydides.

Our third test was the year in which Aegina surrendered. As the name of Aegina appears in the first of the quota-lists, that for the year 454-3, the capitulation cannot well have taken place after the summer of 454. We have seen that, if we admit the presence of Themistocles in Athens in 462-1, the earliest possible date for the revolt of Thasos would be the year 459. The question then arises, whether the various events which Thucydides narrates between the revolt of Thasos and the surrender of Aegina can be squeezed into so short an interval as that between 459 and 454. Undoubtedly they can, if we assume that Thucydides in his narrative of these events does not adhere to their strict chronological order; and undoubtedly one must make this assumption, if the reading *δεκάτῳ* be retained in i. 103. If this reading is the right one, Thucydides, in relating the fall of Ithome at the beginning of ch. 103, must be anticipating the actual course of events by several years. Krüger's arguments in favour of substituting *τετάρτῳ* for *δεκάτῳ* are familiar to every one; we need here only point out two objections to the hypothesis that we are in this passage dealing with an 'anticipation.' If in this section of his work (i. 98-119) Thucydides allowed himself to depart from the chronological order, so as to finish off one subject before passing on to the next, we should expect to find that, in all cases where he is dealing with events which occupied more than a year, he would tell the story from start to finish without a single break. His practice in these chapters is the exact reverse of this. He twice interrupts the history of the revolt and siege of Thasos, in order to adhere to the real order of events; apparently for the same reason, the revolt of the helots and the siege of Ithome is also twice interrupted; while the beginning of the Egyptian expedition is separated from the final catastrophe by five chapters, which treat of the war in Greece. In one instance only is the story told continuously—the second expedition to Cyprus and Egypt, after the five years' truce; and it is significant that in this case Thucydides expressly asserts that the event which in the

narrative precedes the expedition—the conclusion of the five years' truce—was really anterior to it in point of time, and that the fleet had returned to Athens before the next event which he records, the so-called Sacred War (i. 112). Secondly, we may well ask, Why should Thucydides have interrupted the history of the alliances formed by Athens by inserting, between the Thessalian and Argive on the one hand and the Megarian on the other, a notice of the fall of Ithome eight years before its proper place?

If then we read *τεράτῳ*, the fall of Ithome could not be placed earlier than the end of 456; for it is evident from ch. 101 that the earthquake was some months later than the revolt of Thasos. The earliest date for the Egyptian expedition would be 455, and a comparison of *C.I.A.* 1,433 with Thucydides i. 104–106 renders it probable that the blockade of Aegina was begun in the autumn of the same year. At any rate the battle of Tanagra cannot be put in the same year as the Egyptian expedition (see *C.I.A.* 1,433): and thus we should get 454 as the date of Tanagra and Oenophyta. But between the investment of Aegina and its surrender come, in addition to the battles in the Megarid, the Phocian expedition of the Spartans, the battles of Tanagra and Oenophyta, and the establishment of Athenian control over Phocis and Locris. As the Phocian expedition could hardly be earlier than April, and as two months elapsed between Tanagra and Oenophyta, it looks as if Aegina could not have surrendered before the winter. This would mean the winter of 454–3; is it probable then that it would have paid its tribute in time for the quota to appear in the list of that same year?

Lastly let us consider what conclusion we shall be driven to with regard to the events which come between the surrender of Aegina and the thirty years' peace.

In spite of Bauer's endeavours to prove the contrary, it can hardly admit of question that the destruction of the Athenian armament in Egypt must be placed between the periplus of Tolmides and the Athenian expedition into Thessaly; the words at the beginning of ch. 109 (*οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ ἐξυμμάχοι ἐπέμεινον, καὶ αὐτοῖς πολλὰ ἰδέαι πολέμων κατέστησαν. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον ἐκράτουν κ.τ.λ.*) can only mean that the narrative of the Egyptian expedition is parallel to the chapters that precede it (105–108), and not, as Bauer supposes, to the chapters that follow (111, 112). Common-sense, indeed, would suggest that the reason why Thucydides returns to the affairs of

Egypt at this particular place is, that the capture of Prosopitis was effected in the interval between the periplus of Tolmides and the invasion of Thessaly. Now the fleet was destroyed six full years after the ships had first sailed to the aid of Inaros (110 *ad init.*); if therefore the expedition began in 455, the end cannot have come before 449, and Pericles' attack on Oeniadae will have to be assigned to 448. This was three years before the five years' truce (112 *ad init.*), which cannot therefore have been concluded before the beginning of the year 445–4; that is, some six months after the real date of the thirty years' peace (see Thucydides ii. 2 and i. 87 *ad fin.*).

To sum up. If we make the supposed fact of Themistocles' presence in Athens in 462–1 the starting-point of our chronology, we shall arrive at a date for the five years' truce which is at the least three or four years too late, and a date for the surrender of Aegina which is at best barely possible; but this latter date can only be rendered even barely possible by cutting down the interval between Themistocles' ostracism and his arrival at Ephesus to the improbably short space of six months. More than this, even if we do not make any assumptions as to the order in which Thucydides narrates the events, even if we leave the reading *δεκάτῳ* unaltered, and even if we allow that Themistocles may have been ostracised in the spring of 461, we shall still get dates both for Themistocles' letter to Artaxerxes and for the disaster at Drabescus, which it is absolutely impossible to harmonise with the statements of Herodotus and Thucydides.

In conclusion, it may be pointed out that it is not ch. 25 only that is at stake. We shall not get rid of our difficulties as to the dates either by banishing the chapter to the bottom of the page with the French translator, or conjecturing with a Dutch editor a confusion between Themistocles and Pericles. Chapter 25 cannot be reconciled with Thucydides, but it is in perfect harmony with the other chronological statements of the *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία*, as far as they relate to the years under discussion. It is only when we recognise that the author of the *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία* put the battle of the Eurymedon some eight years too late, and that the interval between Tanagra and the five years' truce found no place in his historical retrospect, that we can understand how he comes to apply to Cimon in the year 462 those much-discussed words, *νεώτερον ὄντα καὶ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ὡς ἐπὶ προσελθόντα*, or how he can assert at one and the same time

that Pericles introduced pay for the dicasts ἀντιδικαγῶν πρὸς τὴν Κίμωνος εὐπορίαν, and yet that he took no active part in politics until after the year 451. One service at least the Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία renders us; it proves the existence among the writers of the fourth century B.C. of a very different chronology for the Pentecostætia from that which we have in Thucydides, and it enables us for the first time to explain more than one hard saying in Plutarch and Diodorus. Would Plutarch's statement that Cimon

was recalled after the battle of Tanagra, and at once negotiated the five years' truce, have occasioned any difficulty to the author of this long-lost work?¹

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¹ Bauer is certainly right in seeing a reference to the five years' truce in Plut. *Cim.* 18, and *Per.* 10. The hypothesis that these two passages refer to the four months' truce of which Diodorus speaks simply illustrates the desperate shifts to which 'harmonists' are wont to have recourse.

WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORF'S EDITION OF THE *HIPPOLYTUS*.

Euripides Hippolytos: Griechisch und Deutsch: von ULRICH VON WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF. 8 Mk.

THE name of Wilamowitz-Moellendorff deserves to be better known than it is in England. He stands in the very forefront of modern scholarship. No such combination of literary genius with philological accomplishment has appeared since Ottfried Müller died. In linguistic and metrical science, in archaeology and mythology, in textual and in literary criticism he is equally at home, and of each and all these subjects he treats with profound originality and with the grace of easy mastery. In his translation from Greek poetry he is adding the rôle of patriot to that of the philologist:—'es ist vielleicht nur ein schwaches Mittel, aber wir Philologen verfügen allein darüber: wir müssen das unsere tun als Deutsche.' This *Hippolytus*-volume is interesting in various ways. The text is constituted with some boldness, but on the whole with strong probability and without perversity. The translation has a peculiar charm. It has a rich flavour of the original, and it reads like poetry. It would not become a foreigner to say more. But it may be allowed in him to hail with gratitude the theory of translation which this author seeks to vindicate before his countrymen.

Translation from Greek poetry, according to him, is the duty and privilege of the philologist. He alone is sufficiently steeped with the meaning and spirit of the original to render it rightly. And the more he is possessed with it, the farther he will get away from literal adherence to the idiom and the metrical form of the original; the more confidently he will dare to give out freely

from himself the thoughts, the emotions, the tone of the poet, because he has so completely appropriated them.

'Das ist übersetzen; nicht mehr, aber auch nicht weniger; es ist kein dichten (ποιεῖν); das dürfen wir nicht, gesetzt wir könnten es. Aber der Geist des Dichters muss über uns kommen und mit unsern Worten reden. Die neuen Verse sollen auf ihre Leser dieselbe Wirkung tun, wie die alten zu ihrer Zeit auf ihr Volk und heute noch auf die, welche sich die nötige Mühe philologischer Arbeit gegeben haben. So hoch geht die Forderung. Wir wissen wol, wie wenig wir sie erfüllen; aber auf Erden wird überhaupt die Mögliche nur gebietet, wenn das Unmögliche gefordert wird, und man muss das Ziel kennen, damit man den Weg findet.'

The whole essay—'Was ist übersetzen?'—betrays a consciousness that such an ideal is a new thing in Germany. Goethe is blamed for having given undeserved currency to the 'carpenter's work' of Voss and Donner, but he and they are excused on the ground that these men had no great native literature behind them, and that the poet's intuition divined the beauty of the Greek though 'peering in so mean a habit.' The notion of 'translating in the metres of the original' is justly condemned.

'Wer ein Gedicht übersetzen will, muss es zunächst verstehn. Ist diese Bedingung erfüllt, so steht er vor der Aufgabe, etwas, das in bestimmter Sprache vorliegt, mit der Versmass und Stil auch gegeben sind, in einer anderen bestimmten Sprache neu zu schaffen, mit der Versmass und Stil auch gegeben sind. Nur in so weit, als das Original etwas in seiner Sprache neues gab zu seiner Zeit, darf das gleiche in der Nachbildung geschehn.'

By way of illustration several fine examples are given of translation from German into Greek. I cannot forbear quoting the lyrical rendering of

Ueber allen Gipfeln ist Ruh.

Κορύφαις μὲν ἀπαίσαις
κάτεσχε σίγα·
ἐπὶ δ' ἀκρεμόνεσσι
σίγαίσι' ἄηται·
ὀρνέων δὲ θρόος κατ' ὕ-
λαν εὔδει· σὺ δὲ βαίον ὄμ-
μενον, ὄδωτα, καὶ σὺ κοιμάσθῃ.

The discussion of MS. authorities is brief but adequate. The reasoning in support of emendations introduced or adopted is not always convincing. Thus in line 42 for δέξω δὲ Θεσεί πρῶτον Wil. reads δέξω δὲ Θεσείως παιδί—a harmless reading, if it had MS. authority, and harmonising with l. 520,—as the traditional reading does with l. 690. In 405 he praises Weil's change of punctuation by which *μίσσημα πᾶσιν* is joined to what follows. But the exaggerated expression is not out of keeping, and the argument—'women should be circumspect, for all hate them, and this comes of the accursed act of the first faithless woman'—is natural. And the frequency of the repetition of words without special point makes it needless to require that *μισῶ* δὲ καὶ in 413 should be logically connected with *μίσσημα*. With similar over-precision it is argued that the superlative *ῥᾶστον* in 638 is inconsistent with the dilemma in ll. 634—7, which are bracketed in the text. May it not be retorted that *nullity* is a *tertium quid*, answering neither to the bad wife nor to the intolerable mother-in-law? In one case Wil. defends a reading which I am disposed to question. Is not *συχχωρεῖν λόγους* in 703 a false echo of 299, and would not *συχχέαι λόγους* yield a preferable sense?

The explanatory notes are often positively illuminating. One instance may suffice for all:

653, 4. ἀγὼ ῥυτοῖς νασμοῖσιν ἐξομόρξομαι
εἰς ὧτα κλύζων.

'Reinigungsgebräuche des täglichen Lebens, die zunächst physischen Zweck haben, erläutern diese Worte nicht, noch weniger Waschungen mit Salzwasser (*I. T.* 1192 Dittenb. *Syll.* 468). Um Abwaschung in fließendem Wasser handelt es sich,

das die Besudelung fortspüle. So ist das ἀνοπέμπεσθαι des Traumes (z. B., *A. Pers.* 202) zu vergleichen. Genau so handelt bei Alexandros von Pleuron (s. 220 Mein.) Antheus, im gleichen Falle wie Hippolytos, *κρήναις καὶ ποταμοῖς νίφετ' ἀεκέες ἔπος*. Und Socrates sagt nach seiner der Eros verletzenden Rede *ἐπιθυμῶ ποτίμῳ λόγῳ ὅλον ἄλμυρὰν ἀκοὴν ἀποκλίσσασθαι* (*Plat. Phaidr.* 283^d). Man mag auch einmal einen Spätling vergleichen, der richtig anwendet, was er gelernt hat. Statius (*Theb.* viii. am Ende) sagt von Athena, die dem sterbenden Tydeus die Unsterblichkeit hat bringen wollen und vor den entsetzlichen Anblick seines Frevels zurückgeschauert ist *nec prius astra subit quam mystica lampas et insons Ilisos multa purgavit lumina lymphæ*.'

It remains very briefly to notice the most interesting and original part of the work,—the analysis of the Fable: 'Die Sage von Hippolytus und ihre Behandlung durch Euripides.' With great subtilty but with convincing verisimilitude it is argued (1) that Hippolytos was a Troezenian deity associated with the local cult of Artemis: (2) that he embodied the idea of maidenhood, whence girls before their marriage deposited their locks before his imaginary tomb (ll. 1425): (3) that as in other cases the ritual gave rise to a legend; and that as at Troezen there was a temple of Aphrodite opposite to that of Artemis, so at Athens the temple of Aphrodite Pandemos, which looked toward Troezen, was named ἐπὶ Ἰππολύτῳ. As Artemis had her companion so Aphrodite must have hers—a sister of Ariadne, and bride of Theseus. So the fable grew.

In his first treatment of it Euripides was unfortunate. He had made it the subject of the concluding play of a trilogy, and had adhered too closely to tradition. In recasting it, he had fused with human emotions the relentless conflict of opposed divinities, and produced a drama of immortal beauty—though not without defects, which are specified with true critical insight. The essay in question is in itself a work of literary art, and it would be impertinent to dilate further on its merits. I hope I may have said enough to induce English scholars to read it for themselves.

LEWIS CAMPBELL.

APELT'S PSEUDO-ARISTOTELIAN TREATISES.

SECOND NOTICE.

(Continued from p. 16.)

DE MELISSO XENOPHANE GORGIA.

THE part of the treatise relating to Melissos opens thus—*ἀίδιον εἶναι φησι εἴ τι ἔστιν, εἴπερ μὴ ἐνδέχεσθαι γενέσθαι μηδὲν ἐκ μηδενός. εἴτε γὰρ ἅπαντα γέγονεν εἴτε μὴ*

πάντα, ἀίδια ἀμφοτέρως. ἐξ οὐδενός γὰρ γενέσθαι ἂν αὐτῶν γιγνόμενα. To avoid the oxymoron Bonitz (*A.S. I.* 64) conjectured *ἀδύνατον* for *αἶδια*. The editor objects 'ea nescio an ferri possint si quidem non recte

dicitur: "si quid ortum est, non potest ortum esse"; dicendum potius fuit *ἀδύνατα ἂν συμβαίνειν* vel tale quid.' It may be doubted whether Bonitz' instinct was at fault on the grammatical point. The difficulty raised by the editor would certainly be felt if Bonitz had conjectured *ἀδύνατον ἀμφοτέρω*. As it is, it seems possible that *ἀδύνατον ἀμφοτέρως* might have exactly the same meaning as the formula *ἀδύνατα ἂν συμβαίνειν ἀμφοτέρως*, which the editor thinks would be free from the logical difficulty. It is true that either *ἀδύνατα* or *ἀδύνατόν τι* might be expected, but the following passage shows the neuter singular may stand alone—*De An.* 411^a 14,¹ in which also the combination with *ἀμφοτέρως* is actually found—*συμβαίνει δ' ἀμφοτέρως ἄτοπον καὶ παράλογον*, where Torstrik records no variant. As to the ellipse of *συμβαίνει*, perhaps the adverb *ἀμφοτέρως* would be enough to indicate that a verb is understood of which *ἀδύνατον* is the subject (*ἵσασθαι, συμβαίνειν*). Bonitz quotes a passage from the same book which certainly favours the sense he wishes to restore here—977^a 15 *ἀνάγκη γὰρ ᾗτοι ἐξ ὁμοίων ἢ ἐξ ἀνομοίων γενέσθαι τὸ γινόμενον* *δυνατὸν δὲ οὐδέτερον. οὔτε γὰρ κ.τ.λ.* The editor has omitted to mention this. He himself suggests *ἀδιάφορον* for *ἀδύνατα ἀμφοτέρως*. This is ingenious but improbable, for *ἀμφοτέρως* is not at all likely to be corrupt. The text however though very harsh may be sound after all, as the editor himself says: 'sed puto ferri posse quae Lps. praebebat.'

The next words seem corrupt: *ἐξ οὐδενὸς γὰρ γενέσθαι ἂν αὐτῶν γινόμενα*, Lps., *ἐξ οὐδενὸς γὰρ αὐτῶν ἂν γινόμενα* cett.

Bonitz makes some proposals, but clearly does not satisfy himself. He thinks like Brandis that *τά* is necessary before *γινόμενα* (or *γενόμενα*) and would change *αὐτῶν* either to *οὕτως* or *ἀμφοτέρως*.

The editor suggests *ἐξ οὐδενὸς γὰρ γενέσθαι ἂν αὐτὰ ἀνάγκην εἶναι*, but leaves the reading of Lips. in his text.

Bonitz believes no intelligible sense can be given to *αὐτῶν*: but one may suggest that

it is quite enough to insert the article *τά* before or after *αὐτῶν* in the reading of Lips. *αὐτῶν* would refer to *τὰ ὄντα* implied in the previous sentence, and the sense seems tolerable even if the logic is not quite perfect—'for in either case (whether the whole of reality came into being or not the whole) whatever of reality came into being would have to come into being out of nothing.'

166. 1, 974^a 8. The first section of the treatise contains an account of the arguments by which Melissus tried to prove that Being was eternal (*αἰδιον*), infinite (*ἄπειρον*), one (*ἓν*), homogeneous (*ὁμοιον*), without motion (*ἀκίνητον*), and not liable to any kind of change. It seems plain both here and in the subsequent criticism of the arguments that each of these attributes is derived in order from the preceding one, as in the case of the second, third and fourth, or from some of the preceding as in the case of the other two, the dependence however in the case of the fifth not being so directly put.

Thus the various arguments after the first, which proves the *αἰδιον*, begin respectively with *αἰδιον δὲ ὃν ἄπειρον εἶναι—ἄπειρον δ' ὃν ἓν εἶναι—ἓν δὲ ὃν ὁμοιον εἶναι πάντη—αἰδιον δὲ ὃν ἄπειρόν τε καὶ ὁμοιον πάντη, ἀκίνητον εἶναι τὸ ἓν—τοιούτων δὲ ὃν τὸ ἓν ἀνώδυνόν τε καὶ ἀνάληγον κ.τ.λ.*

Melissus then appears to derive the unlimitedness in space from unlimitedness in time. The editor attempts to defend him, at least in part, from this imputation, by a line of argument rather difficult to understand. The discussion is found in his article in the *Jahrbücher für Classische Philologie*, 1886, p. 735 seqq. The passage in the Greek text is as follows:—*αἰδιον δὲ ὃν ἄπειρον εἶναι, ὅτι οὐκ ἔχει ἀρχὴν ὅθεν ἐγένετο, οὐδὲ τελευτὴν· εἰς δὲ γινόμενον ἐτελεύτησέ ποτε. πᾶν γὰρ ἄπειρον, ὃν εἶναι· εἰ γὰρ δύο ἢ πλεον ἔῃ κ.τ.λ.* Lips. There is evidently something wrong about the words *πᾶν γὰρ ἄπειρον κ.τ.λ.* which are really made to introduce the third argument, viz. that Being is one. The other MSS. have *πᾶν δὲ καὶ ἄπειρον ὃν εἶναι*. The Aldine is clearly nearer the truth *πᾶν γὰρ ἄπειρον ἓν εἶναι*, though probably not quite right. Bergk (*cit.* Apelt) proposed *πᾶν τῇ δὲ ἄπειρον ὃν ἓν εἶναι*, Bonitz gives good reason (*Ar. Stud.* I. 66) why the third argument would not be introduced by *πᾶν γὰρ* and for *πᾶν γὰρ ἄπειρον κ.τ.λ.* conjectures *αἰδιον δὲ καὶ ἄπειρον ὃν ἓν εἶναι*. The editor assigns *πᾶν γὰρ* to the end of the second argument, punctuating and reading thus:—*ἐτελεύτησέ ποτε (πᾶν γὰρ)· ἄπειρον δ' ὃν ἓν εἶναι*, supporting his view by a comparison of the

¹ One of the references given in the Index Aristotelicus under *ἄτοπον*. *Ἀδύνατον* is very near in use to *ἄτοπον*—cf. *Phys.* 185^a 29 (a reference in the same index under *ἀδύνατον*) *εἰ δὲ πάντα ποῖον ἢ ποσόν, εἴτ' οὐσης οὐσίας εἴτε μὴ οὐσης, ἄτοπον, εἰ δὲ ἄτοπον λέγειν τὸ ἀδύνατον*—and one may ask therefore whether *ἀδύνατον* without an adverb or a verb expressed with it could not be construed simply with *εἰ* like *ἄτοπον* (e.g. in this place from the *Physics*). However there seems to be no such instance among the references given for *ἀδύνατον* in the principal indices to Aristotle, Plato, and the Greek Orators.

last sentence of a fragment of Melissus (Mel. *Frag.* § 7 Mullach) which treats of a similar subject. It may be well to quote the whole of the fragment:—

ὅτε τοίνυν οὐκ ἐγένετο ἔστι τε καὶ αἰεὶ ἦν, καὶ αἰεὶ ἔσται· καὶ ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἔχει οὐδὲ τελευτὴν ἀλλ' ἄπειρόν ἐστι· εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐγένετο, ἀρχὴν ἂν εἶχεν· ἤρξατο γὰρ ἂν ποτε γινόμενον· καὶ τελευτὴν ἔτελεύτησε γὰρ ἂν ποτε γινόμενον. εἰ δὲ μὴτε ἤρξατο μὴτε ἐτελεύτησεν, αἰεὶ τε ἦν καὶ αἰεὶ ἔσται, οὐκ ἔχει ἀρχὴν οὐδὲ τελευτὴν. οὐ γὰρ αἰεὶ εἶναι ἀνυστόν, ὅ, τι μὴ πᾶν ἐστὶ.

The editor supposes πᾶν γάρ to represent the last words of the fragment. He renders 'denn es ist alles (umfasst alles)' and renders the passage thus 'Aus der Ewigkeit folgt die Unbegrenztheit, weil was nicht geworden ist keinen Anfang hat und auch kein Ende, denn es umfasst alles.' He supposes that thus read and understood the text shows that the author of the treatise obviously (*offenbar*) did not find in Melissus the fallacy with which he has been usually credited since Aristotle, i.e. that of deducing unlimitedness in space from unlimitedness in time. To see how he gets such a conclusion a portion of his article in the *Jahrb. f. Cl. Phil.* must be quoted, and unless he has been misunderstood it seems as though he had been betrayed by over-subtlety into unsound reasoning. He explains the last words of the above fragment, οὐ γὰρ αἰεὶ ἀνυστόν, ὅ, τι μὴ πᾶν ἐστὶ, thus: 'also was nicht πᾶν ist, ist nicht ewig, oder um die unmittelbare Folgerung daraus zu ziehen, was ewig ist ist πᾶν. Die-Ewigkeit der Dauer und die räumliche Allheit bedingen sich gegenseitig wie Melissos meint: das αἰδίων nämlich umfasst die Allheit des Seienden. Wäre dem nicht so, so könnte es ja etwas geben was nicht αἰδίων wäre.' (In this last the editor seems to speak only of the fragment, the rest seems to apply this to the passage from the pseudo-Aristotelian treatise and to explain the argument there.) 'Was aber alles ist (alles in sich befasst) kann räumlich nicht begrenzt sein: denn wäre es dies, so wäre es nicht alles, weil ausserhalb seiner noch etwas sein müsste gegen das es abgegrenzt wäre. Wie das Seiende als αἰδίων keinen Anfang hat, so hat es als πᾶν keine räumliche Grenzen. Ähnlich hat schon Simplic. zu Arist. Phys. 109^a 7 den Melissos gegen Aristoteles verteidigt. Ich behaupte nun keineswegs dass Melissos sich dies in der versuchten Weise zu völliger Klarheit gebracht habe' etc. etc.

To begin with the fragment:—it will be observed that there is no trace in it of the

argument which the editor supposes to be implied in the last words οὐ γὰρ αἰεὶ εἶναι ἀνυστόν ὅ, τι μὴ πᾶν ἐστὶ, and the argument itself seems so unsatisfactory that one may fear that one has misunderstood his meaning. 'The eternal,' he appears to say, 'comprises the totality of Being (das αἰδίων umfasst die Allheit des Seienden etc.). If it were not so there might of course be something which "was not eternal."' This seems to be of the form 'All A is B, because if it were not so, some A might (rather "must") not be B'; for 'das αἰδίων umfasst die Allheit des Seienden' is merely a way of saying 'all that is, is eternal.' Melissus' own proof connecting Being and τὸ αἰδίων was according to the treatise before us and to the *Fragment*, No. 6 Mullach, that Being could not have originated because it could not originate from nothing, thus Being (that is of course all Being, πᾶν) was eternal. Cf. also *Fr.* 1, Mullach.

One thing seems clear. The editor supposes that in the argument to prove the unlimitedness of Being in space, quoted here in the *De Melisso*, &c., Melissus started from the proposition that Being is eternal (αἰδίων), that from this unlimitedness in time he deduced that Being is all-comprising (πᾶν), and from this latter that Being is unlimited in space (ἄπειρον)—*quasi τὸ ὄν ἐστὶν αἰδίων, αἰδίων δ' ὄν ἐστι πᾶν, πᾶν δ' ὄν ἐστὶν ἄπειρον*. Now this is difficult to believe, whether we look at the argument itself or the text supposed to convey it. By πᾶν in this argument the editor understands 'was alles in sich befasst' = that which comprises everything; and it is on this meaning of πᾶν that the last step depends. 'Because Being as πᾶν includes everything, there is nothing outside it in space to limit it, therefore it is unlimited in space, ἄπειρον.' But even for an Eleatic the premiss 'Being includes everything' (which to us as a mere tautology, = all being is all being, needs no proof) would only need to prove it the Eleatic denial of any kind of existence to Not-being.¹ 'Being is all existence (πᾶν) because Not-being has no existence.' As this is so, it is hard to believe that Melissus would have thought it necessary to infer that Being included all existence from the fact that Being was αἰδίων. Even if he wanted (as the editor thinks) to prove the unlimitedness of Being in space from its all-comprehensiveness, he would only need

¹ Cf. *Frag.* 5 (Mullach), and e.g. the well-known passage of Parmenides:

οὐδὲν γὰρ ἢ ἔστιν ἢ ἔσται
ἄλλο παρὰ τοῦ ἔόντος.

to say, 'Since Non-being has no existence, Being includes everything, and there is no existence outside it. Therefore it cannot be limited in space, because if limited it must be limited by some existence outside it.'

It has been already pointed out that for the first step of the argument attributed by the editor to Melissus, the inference of $\pi\alpha\nu$ from $\alpha\acute{\iota}\delta\iota\omicron\nu$, there is no evidence in the texts; the second step also, the inference of $\alpha\pi\epsilon\iota\rho\omicron\nu$ from $\pi\alpha\nu$, is not merely unsupported by the text, but has the text against it. Melissus, instead of inferring that Being is $\alpha\pi\epsilon\iota\rho\omicron\nu$ because as comprising all existence it is the single existence and alone in the universe and thus unlimited by anything else, gives, in the very next part of the text to that under consideration, what is in effect the converse of such an argument. He infers that Being is single and alone in the universe because it is $\alpha\pi\epsilon\iota\rho\omicron\nu$, for if it were not alone it would be limited by whatever else existed, and so not be $\alpha\pi\epsilon\iota\rho\omicron\nu$ —166. 3, 974^b 11, $\alpha\pi\epsilon\iota\rho\omicron\nu$ δ' ὃν ἐν εἶναι εἰ γὰρ δύο ἢ πλέω ἦν περαίνειν ἂν τὰντα πρὸς ἄλληλα.¹ Thus whereas the editor virtually makes Melissus derive $\alpha\pi\epsilon\iota\rho\omicron\nu$ from ἐν, Melissus really derives ἐν from $\alpha\pi\epsilon\iota\rho\omicron\nu$.

Beside the difficulty in the argument itself and in the relation just pointed out to its context, it hardly seems possible to get it out of the Greek of the passage supposed to give it. The passage $\alpha\acute{\iota}\delta\iota\omicron\nu$ δὲ ὃν $\alpha\pi\epsilon\iota\rho\omicron\nu$ εἶναι κ.τ.λ. has been quoted above. In the first place, according to the logical form strictly followed in the description of Melissus' arguments, we should expect, instead of the text, $\alpha\acute{\iota}\delta\iota\omicron\nu$ δὲ ὃν $\pi\alpha\nu$ εἶναι, followed by a short proof, and then $\pi\alpha\nu$ δὲ ὃν $\alpha\pi\epsilon\iota\rho\omicron\nu$ εἶναι, also followed by a proof (e.g. ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλο τι πρὸς ὃ περαίνει ἂν). But the form is the least difficulty. The words ὅτι οὐκ ἔχει ἀρχὴν ὅθεν ἐγένετο κ.τ.λ. of course refer to a temporal ἀρχή and τελευτή, as they also do in the *Fragment* above quoted (q.v.).² But it is these words which assign the reason why $\alpha\pi\epsilon\iota\rho\omicron\nu$ follows from $\alpha\acute{\iota}\delta\iota\omicron\nu$ (as also in the first sentence of the *Fragment*), and thus $\alpha\pi\epsilon\iota\rho\omicron\nu$ is solely derived from the absence of beginning and end in time.

This is so clear that it would be thought Melissus only meant by $\alpha\pi\epsilon\iota\rho\omicron\nu$ infiniteness in time, were it not that the use made of the idea in the next argument shows it to

¹ The same is done in the *Fragments* of Melissus, Nos. 3 and 10, Mullach. On the latter Simplicius (cit. Mullach) comments thus: ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀπείρου δὲ τὸ ἐν συνελογίστατο.

² Simplicius notes on the ποτέ which occurs in the *Fragment* καὶ ὅτι μὲν τὸ ποτέ χρονικόν ἐστι δῆλον.

extend to space as well, and that the author of the treatise, *De Melisso*, &c., understands it so in his criticism 975^b 35 sqq. The editor's own reading $\pi\alpha\nu$ γάρ concluding the argument involves him in a new difficulty, for $\pi\alpha\nu$ γάρ would have to give a reason for the immediately preceding ὅτι οὐκ ἔχει ἀρχὴν ὅθεν ἐγένετο, &c., and thus the unlimitedness in time ($\alpha\acute{\iota}\delta\iota\omicron\nu$) would be deduced from all-comprehensiveness ($\pi\alpha\nu$), the opposite of what the editor supposes.

It seems obvious in the text that unlimitedness in space or magnitude is deduced directly from unlimitedness in respect of time in the *De Melisso*, and this is also really the drift of the fragment of Melissus quoted by the editor, which contains the words ὁ τι μὴ $\pi\alpha\nu$ ἐστί, and it is explicitly stated in the fragment next after it, *Fr.* No. 8, Mullach, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐστὶν αἰεὶ, οὕτω καὶ τὸ μέγεθος ἀπείρου αἰεὶ χορὴ εἶναι (Mullach, *Fr.* 8).

But there are besides two other fragments (Mullach, *Fr.* 2 and *Fr.* 3) which are exactly parallel to the text before us, and should have been dealt with by the editor. The first contains the derivation of the $\alpha\pi\epsilon\iota\rho\omicron\nu$ from the $\alpha\acute{\iota}\delta\iota\omicron\nu$, and corresponds to 974^a 9-11; the second contains the derivation of ἐν from $\alpha\pi\epsilon\iota\rho\omicron\nu$, and corresponds to 974^a 11-12 of the treatise *De Melisso*, &c. In the first the derivation is made directly from the absence of beginning and end in time, and the idea of $\pi\alpha\nu$ (= ἅμα $\pi\alpha\nu$) does not appear in it in any shape. The argument is simply: ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τὸ γεόμενον ἀρχὴν ἔχει, τὸ μὴ γεόμενον ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἔχει, τὸ δὲ ὃν οὐ γέγονεν, οὐκ ἂν ἔχοι ἀρχήν. ἔτι δὲ τὸ φθειρόμενον τελευτὴν ἔχει· εἰ δὲ τί ἐστὶν ἀφθαρτον, τελευτὴν οὐκ ἔχει· τὸ ὃν ἄρα ἀφθαρτον ὃν τελευτὴν οὐκ ἔχει· τὸ δὲ μήτε ἀρχὴν ἔχον μήτε τελευτὴν ἀπείρου τυγχάνει ὃν. ἀπείρου ἄρα τὸ ὃν.

The editor evidently admits that Aristotle imputed the mistake to Melissus, and the testimony of Aristotle is of course of first-rate importance. Zeller is doubtless right in holding that the contemptuous terms which Aristotle uses about the reasoning power of Melissus refer to this fallacy. It should however be noticed that in all the passages, except one, quoted by Zeller and by others under this head, from Aristotle, this fallacy of Melissus, when it is specified at all, is not characterized as one of ambiguity in terms in general, or the confusion of a limit in time with a limit in space in particular, but as an instance of the fallacy of arguing back from the consequence to its reason (διὰ τὸ οἰεσθαι ἀντιστρέφειν τὴν ἀκολου-

θῆσιν),¹ and he is attacked for arguing that εἰ τὸ γινόμενον ἅπαν ἀρχὴν ἔχει then εἰ τι ἀρχὴν ἔχει γέγονεν. In one passage, *Phys.* 186^a 8 *seqq.*, Aristotle adds to this mistake the further fallacy of the confusion of two kinds of ἀρχή, but his expression is not so clear and detailed as might have been expected: οἱ μὲν οὖν παραλογίζεται Μελίσσος δῆλον· οἴεται γὰρ εἰληφέναι, εἰ τὸ γινόμενον ἔχει ἀρχὴν ἅπαν, οἷα καὶ τὸ μὴ γινόμενον οὐκ ἔχει.² εἴτα καὶ τοῦτο ἄποπον, τὸ παντὸς οἰεσθαι εἶναι ἀρχὴν τοῦ πράγματος καὶ μὴ τοῦ χρόνου κ.τ.λ. On which Simplicius comments (23^a 40, Diels 109. 7): ἐγκαλεῖται δὲ ὁ Μελίσσος καὶ ὡς τῆς ἀρχῆς πολλὰ χῶς λεγομένης ἀντὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸν χρόνον ἀρχῆς, ἥτις ὑπάρχει τῷ γενήτῳ, τὴν κατὰ τὸ πρᾶγμα λαβὼν κ.τ.λ.

The editor adds two considerations in favour of his view. He says that Simplicius defends Melissus in a similar manner, and that if Melissus had committed the fallacy of deriving infinity in space from infinity in time in so crude a form (in solcher Nacktheit), he would certainly have been attacked for it by the writer of the treatise, but he thinks this is not so. 'Allein dies ist nicht der Fall, denn die darauf bezügliche Widerlegung verträgt sich wie sich seines Ortes zeigen wird, recht wohl mit der Anerkennung des bezeichneten Melissischen Gedankens.'

Here again it is difficult to see how the editor persuaded himself that the facts were such. The criticism in the *De Melisso* to which he refers (976^a 1 *seqq.*) not only makes no reference to the argument attributed to Melissus by the editor, in which τὸ ἄπειρον would not be derived immediately from τὸ αἰδίων but only mediately through the notion of τὸ πᾶν, but does expressly attack Melissus for arguing from unlimitedness in time to other kinds of unlimitedness. Is not the following passage conclusive? 976^a 2, τί δὲ κωλύει, καὶ εἰ μὴ ἐγένετο, ἔχειν ἀρχὴν; οὐ μέντοι γε ἐξ ἧς γε ἐγένετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐτέρα, καὶ εἶναι περαίνοντα πρὸς ἄλλα, αἰδία ὄντα ('Even if Being has no beginning

in time, that does not prevent it from having another kind of beginning. Realities might be eternal and unlimited in time, and yet bound and limit one another in space'). This is obviously the direct answer to the words in the passage before us: ἄπειρον εἶναι οἷα οὐκ ἔχει ἀρχὴν ὅθεν ἐγένετο οὐδὲ τελευτὴν εἰς ὃ γινόμενον ἐτελεύτησέ ποτε, and shows the author understands the latter to be a direct derivation of unlimitedness in general from mere want of limit in time. Cf. also 976^a 6, ἔτι καὶ ὡς ὁ Παρμενίδης φησί, τί κωλύει καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἐν ὧν καὶ ἀγένητον ὅμως πεπεράσθαι, καὶ εἶναι πάντοθεν εὐκύκλον σφαῖρας ἐναλίγκιον ὄγκῳ, μεσσοθέν ἰσοπαλὲς πάντῃ... ἔχον δὲ μέσον καὶ ἔσχατα πέρας ἔχει ἀγένητον ὄν, i.e. the author argues against Melissus that Parmenides, the principal philosopher of the school, holding the same dogmas as Melissus about the unity and eternity of Being, yet implied that Being was limited in space. And lastly he argues that even if the whole were infinite in space, the parts might be limited, *although eternal and without origin in time*, 976^a 20, ὥστε ταῦτα (τὰ μέρη) περαίνει πρὸς ἄλλα, ἀγένητα ὄντα. Surely this is the language of one who is attacking the fallacy of supposing that unlimitedness in time as such involves unlimitedness in space. The critical method of the author of the treatise is such that it is not very likely that if the argument of Melissus had involved two steps, first from αἰδίων to πᾶν and then from πᾶν to ἄπειρον, he would not attack the separate links of the reasoning, considering their importance. Besides, in the passage last quoted, he speaks of individual parts of the whole as ἀγένητα, which is incompatible with the supposed first step in Melissus' argument—that what is ἀγένητον must be πᾶν; and thus if the author knew that Melissus held such an opinion he would hardly have failed to attack it.

As to Simplicius, who has preserved in his text the *Fragment* of Melissus ending οὐ γὰρ αἰεὶ εἶναι ἀνυστὸν ὅ τι μὴ πᾶν ἐστὶ, he does not corroborate the editor's view.³ On the contrary, he takes πᾶν in a quite different sense. On the editor's interpretation of πᾶν ('the all-comprising') the clause οὐ γὰρ αἰεὶ κ.τ.λ. stands in no discernible connexion with the rest of the fragment, though joined to it by the particle γὰρ.⁴ Simplicius explains ὅ μὴ πᾶν ἐστὶ, τουτίστιν ὃ μὴ ἅμα ὅλον

¹ The fallacia consequentis, of which a wrong account is given in Mansel's *Aldrich*, both in the text and the notes.

² It is hardly necessary to assume with Zeller that this implies Aristotle construed the beginning of *Fr.* 2 wrongly, taking τὸ μὴ γινόμενον ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἔχει as apodosis to ἐπειδὴ τὸ γινόμενον ἀρχὴν ἔχει, whereas it is a part of the protasis of which οὐκ ἂν ἔχοι ἀρχὴν is the apodosis. In the first place it is by no means certain that this would be a misconception (we should perhaps read οὐκ οὖν ἂν ἔχοι ἀρχὴν or οὐκ ἂν οὖν, cf. *Fr.* 5 *init.* οὐκ ἂν οὖν εἴη, κ.τ.λ., or, with Diels, οὐκ ἄρα ἔχει ἀρχὴν), and in the second place the inference ascribed by Aristotle to Melissus is found clearly enough in *Fragment* 7.

³ Zeller's interpretation 'Wenn das Seiende der Grösse nach beschränkt wäre, könnte es nicht ewig sein' would require ἄπειρον instead of πᾶν.

⁴ The passage from Simplicius is quoted by Mülach.

ἐστίν' ὅπερ τοῖς ἀμέρεσιν ὑπάρχει καὶ τῷ ὄντι ἀπείροις, and afterwards when quoting the passage again gives ἅμα πᾶν for πᾶν. By ἅμα πᾶν, ἅμα ὅλον, he clearly meant an indivisible whole in respect of time, which Aristotle designates by ὅλον τι in *Ethic X*. That which has an ἀρχή and τελευτή in time, has parts of its existence in different times, and so is not ἅμα πᾶν. As Simplicius says, τὸ γὰρ ἀρχὴν ἔχον χρόνον καὶ τέλος οὐχ ἅμα πᾶν ἐστὶ. Whether Simplicius is right or not, his interpretation certainly puts the clause in logical connexion with what precedes it. It will now be obvious that if in the passage from the *De Melisso* πᾶν γὰρ be read, as the editor proposes, at the end of the second argument instead of at the beginning of the third, and if πᾶν is interpreted as Simplicius interprets it (= ἅμα πᾶν) in the fragment, we shall get exactly the same train of thought as in the fragment, and the same coherence: οὐκ ἔχει ἀρχὴν ὅθεν ἐγένετο οὐδὲ τελευτὴν εἰς ὃ γινόμενον ἐτελεύτησέ ποτε, πᾶν γὰρ, will correspond exactly to what Simplicius says in interpreting the fragment τὸ γὰρ ἀρχὴν ἔχον χρόνον καὶ τέλος οὐχ ἅμα πᾶν ἐστὶ. Thus it is very probable that the editor has by a comparison of the fragment found the right reading, though it is hardly possible to accept his interpretation either of the reading or of the passage on which he bases it.

It must be admitted that the subsequent criticism, already referred to, makes no mention of the πᾶν (= ἅμα πᾶν). But it is not necessary to the polemical purpose. The author is attacking Melissus' inference of ἄπειρον from οὐκ ἔχον ἀρχὴν ὅθεν ἐγένετο οὐδὲ τελευτὴν, κ.τ.λ., and whether the latter be called πᾶν (or ἅμα πᾶν) or not makes no difference to the validity of the inference which is grounded solely on the absence of beginning or end in time.

167. 7, 974^a 28, ἐκείως (i.e. in the case of σύνθεσις of the elements) μὲν ἂν διάδηλα χωρίζοντα εἶναι τὰ μυχθέντα, ἐπιπροσθήσεως δ' οὐσης ἐν τῇ τρίψει γίνεσθαι ἂν ἕκαστον φανερόν, ἀφαιρουμένων τῶν πρώτων τὰ ὑπ' ἄλλα τεθέντα τῶν μυχθέντων, ὧν οὐδέτερον συμβαίνει. The editor adopts an emendation of Kern's which seems certain, χωρὶς ὄντα, and for which the words χωρὶς εἶδος εἶναι might have been quoted from a parallel passage further on 977^a 6. He emends himself τῶν...τεθέντων, and expunges τῶν before μυχθέντων. The juxtaposition of τεθέντων μυχθέντων would however be harsh. It might be better to transpose μυχθέντων, and read otherwise with the editor thus:

ἕκαστον φανερόν τῶν μυχθέντων, ἀφαιρουμένων τῶν πρώτων τῶν ὑπ' ἄλλα τεθέντων.

167. 10, 974^b 2, διὰ τούτων δὲ τῶν τρόπων κἂν εἶναι πολλὰ κἂν ἡμῖν ὤ. ἔτι φαίνεσθαι μόνως, Lps.; ὡς τὸ, cett.; οὐκέτι, Kern. Apelt's emendation of ἔστι may be right with exception, perhaps, of the accent of ἔστι. He had previously conjectured ὡς ἔστι in *Jahrb. f. Class. Phil.* 1886, translating thus: 'nur durch dies Eintreten der erörterten Fälle könnte das Viele wirkliche Existenz haben und die Erscheinung (nicht leerer Schein sein sondern) der Wirklichkeit entsprechen.' His present emendation is an improvement from his own point of view about the meaning of the passage; ἔστι is the verb substantive, and οἷα ἔστι would apparently be subject to φαίνεσθαι. The form of the sentence however seems much more in favour of making πολλά the subject to φαίνεσθαι as it is to εἶναι, and reading οἷ ἔστι instead of οἷ ἔστι, and the sense thus obtained seems to suit the context better. 'It is only in these ways that multiplicity can exist and also appear to us to be a multiplicity': literally 'appear to us to be what it is.' For the preceding context describes the only way (τρόποι) in which Melissus thinks the existence of a manifold would be possible, if possible at all, and in which its manifoldness would reveal itself to our perception (διὰ δὲ ἡλ α χωρὶς ὄντα τὰ μυχθέντα, κ.τ.λ., γίνεσθαι ἂν ἕκαστον φανερόν, κ.τ.λ.). If this view is right, there is not much to choose between the emendations ὡς ἔστι (not ἔστι) and οἷ ἔστι.

168. 9, 974^b 15. The editor reads and punctuates thus: εἰ δὲ μὴ ἅπαντα ἡμῖν ψευδῆ τὰ φαινόμενα, ἀλλὰ τινές εἰσι καὶ τούτων ὀρθαὶ ὑπολήψεις, ἣ ἐπιδείξαντα τοιαύτην, ποία, ἣ τὰς μάλιστα δοκούσας ὀρθάς, ταύτας ληπτέον' ἕς αἰ βεβαιωτέρας εἶναι δεῖ ἢ αἰ μέλλουσιν ἐξ ἐκείνων τῶν λόγων δειχθήσεσθαι. Lps. has μὴ ἦν πάντα, R^a μὴν πάντα. Further on Lps. reads τοιαύτη ('sed addito rubro puncto supra η') and ποία ἣ τὰς; for the latter the rest have ποιότηας, and for the former (according to Bekker) τοιαύτην. Apparently the passage is construed as if ἐπιδείξαντα ποία τοιαύτη (= ὀρθή) could be expressed in the form ἐπιδείξαντα τοιαύτην, ποία. But this form seems as little possible as ἐπιδείξαντα ὀρθήν, ποία. The accusative case requires the definite article before it, and, in this kind of context, would be best in the plural number, e.g. ἐπιδείξαντα τὰς ὀρθάς, ποίαι or ἐπιδείξαντα τὰς τοιαύτας, ποίαι. The text may be quite right as it stands in Lps., ἐπιδείξαντα τοιαύτη ποία = ἐπιδείξαντα ποία τοιαύτη. As there would be a slight ambiguity in τοιαύτη,

ψευδείς as well as ὀρθαί δόξαι having been mentioned, it might be suggested that τοιαύτη ποία conceals ποῖαι αὐτῶν ποῖαι. But probably no emendation is needed. Compare with this passage a parallel one below, 975^a 5: οὐτε γὰρ δεῖ εἶναι ὅτι ὀρθή δόξα ἀφ' ἧς ἄρχεται, οὐτε μᾶλλον βέβαιον ἢ περὶ ἧς δείκνυσιν λαβόν, διελέχθη, which shows that τὰς μάλιστα δοκούσας ὀρθάς is governed by ληπτέον. It might therefore perhaps be well to omit the comma after ὀρθάς, especially as there is a change of construction here (see Kühner, 2nd edit., § 490, 4, and § 427, An. 2). But the usual practice of punctuating in this idiom with οὗτος (for which see Kühner, § 469, 4 b) is probably the same as the editor's.

169. 7, 975^a 1, ὥστ' εἰ καὶ συμβαίνοι ἐναντίας εἶναι τὰς φάσεις, ἀδύνατον γίνεσθαι τε ἐκ μὴ ὄντος καὶ μὴ πολλὰ εἶναι τὰ πράγματα, ἐλέγχοντο μὲν ἂν ὑπ' ἀλλήλων ταῦτα. 'μὴ post καὶ deletat Spalding, bene tuetur Kern.' It is true that μὴ must be read before πολλὰ if it is not read before γίνεσθαι; but as the two opinions contrasted are not γενέσθαι ἐκ μὴ ὄντος, and μὴ πολλὰ εἶναι τὰ πράγματα, but μὴ γενέσθαι ἐκ μὴ ὄντος and πολλὰ εἶναι τὰ πράγματα, the negative would be better placed before γίνεσθαι. It is otherwise of course just below 975^a 6, μᾶλλον γὰρ ὑπολαμβάνεται εἰκὸς εἶναι γίνεσθαι ἐκ μὴ ὄντος ἢ μὴ πολλὰ εἶναι, because this represents the opinion of those who believe in τὰ πολλὰ and think that the denial of their opponents' opinion is more likely to be true than the denial of their own.

170. 9-11, 975^a 19. The note of interrogation should be placed after σκέψασθαι rather than after ἐατέον: for τὸ δὲ πότερον, κ.τ.λ., is opposed to εἰ μὲν δυνατόν, κ.τ.λ. If the question had ended at ἐατέον, the next clause would probably have begun with τὸ γὰρ πότερον.

175. 10, 976^a 3, οὐ μέντοι γε ἐξ ἧς γε ἐγένετο. The editor follows Mullach in expunging the second γε, Bergk had expunged the first (*De Ar. lib. de Xenoph.* p. 22). It is well known that there are a number of passages in classical authors where γε is repeated in the same clause. But it is generally held that where the text is sound each γε has a separate force (cf. Stallbaum's note on *Philebus* 62 E and Kühner § 511. 9, c, An.), and so passages like this one would be corrected. However, one may hazard the question whether this principle is really sound. No doubt in some passages a separate force can be assigned to each γε, but in others the distinction seems rather artificial. Cf. *Philebus* 62 E and some of the passages cited there in Stallbaum's note.

Phil. 62 E, πολὺ γε διαφέρει πρὸς γε ἀσφάλειαν πρώτας τὰς ἀληθείας (sc. ἡδονάς) ἀφεῖναι. *Rep.* 389 D, εἰ γέ, ἢ δ' ὅς, ἐπὶ γε λόγῳ ἔργα τελέηται. *Rep.* 332 B, ὀφείλεται δέ γε, οἶμαι, παρά γε τοῦ ἐχθροῦ τῷ ἐχθρῷ ὅπερ καὶ προσήκει, κακὸν τι. Perhaps the true account of them may be that the first γε attaches the limitation, &c., expressed by it to the clause generally, and the second γε to the particular part of the clause to which the limitation, &c., more especially belongs, or to a part which is to be emphasised. Compare also *Aristoph. Achar.* 92 (*cit.* Lobeck ad *Aj.* 534): ΠΡ. καὶ νῦν ἄγοντες ἴκουμεν Ψευδαρτάβαν | τὸν βασιλέως ὀφθαλμον. ΔΙ. ἐκκόψει γε | κόραξ πατάξας τὸν γε σὸν τοῦ πρέσβεως. The following given by Zeune (note to Viger on γε) is very like the place before us in the *De Melisso* = *Phaedrus* 241 D, καίτοι γε ὥμην γε μεσοῦν αὐτὸν (sc. τὸν λόγον); but Stallbaum omits the first γε, 'quod est in libris paucissimis.'

The explanation here suggested is somewhat confirmed by a very similar idiom in which ἂν is repeated (cf. Kühner, *Gr. Gr.* § 398, 8, and the remarks at the beginning of § 398, 7), and may possibly justify the text of several passages usually corrected by modern editors where γε is repeated—*Soph. O.C.* 981 (977), πῶς γ' ἂν τό γ' ἄκον πράγμ. ἂν εἰκότως ψέγοις. This is the reading of the MSS., and an instance of the repetition of ἂν as well as of γε. (Modern editors omit or correct the first γε. Lobeck (*l.c.*) thought it should be kept.) Cf. also *Soph. Oed. R.* 339 (*cit.* Kühner), τίς γὰρ τοιαῦτ' ἂν οὐκ ἂν ὀργίζουτ' ἐπη. *Eur. Hipp.* 961, τίνας λόγους | τῆσδ' ἂν γένοντ' ἂν; and other passages from poets and prose writers quoted by Kühner, *l.c.*

Eur. Med. 867 (863), οὐκ ἂν γ' ἁμάρτοι τοῦδε γ' ἀλλ' ἀκούσομαι. This is the reading of the Aldine. The MSS. have οὐκ ἂν ἁμάρτοις, which Dindorf and Kirchhoff keep, most other editors (including Nauck in his 3rd edit.) appear to adopt Porson's οὐ τὰν ἁμάρτοις. It is true the Aldine is the only authority, but on the one hand the known MSS. are in all probability wrong, and Porson took the Aldine as his only authority for τοῦδε γ' against the MSS. reading τοῦδ' ἔτ' or τοῦδ' ἔτ'. (It seems from Dindorf's edit. that two MSS. really have τοῦδε γε, as against a great number which read τοῦδ' ἔτ'.) Lobeck (*l.c.*) would read οὐκ ἂν γ' with Aldine, quotes *Soph. O.C.* 977, *Eur. Iph. in Aul.* 634, *Hippol.* 840, *Aristoph. Achar.* 97, and says the usage is especially frequent in Plato. Hermann in his notes on Elmsley's *Medea* at this place says, 'Aldinae scriptura (οὐκ ἂν γ') ad sensum aptissima.'

Xen. *Cyrop.* II. iii. 24 (*cit.* Kühner *l.c.*), διπλὴν ἡμῖν δίκαιον καὶ τὴν εὐωχίαν παρέχειν. Μὰ Δι', ἐφ' ὃ ταξίαρχος, μήτοι γε ἐν μιᾷ γε ἡμέρᾳ. This is very like the passage in the *De Melisso*. The first γε is found in the three principal MSS. (Dindorf), the second in one of the three and in the Juntine edit. (Schneider and Dindorf). Schneider (edit. of 1812), Dindorf (1874), and Hug omit the second γε. Poppo, on the other hand, retains γε in both places, and the authority of Kühner is on the same side. Poppo refers to his note on Xen. *Cyrop.* II. ii. 3 (οὐδὲν ἴσον ἐστίν, εἰ γε ἀφ' ἡμῶν γε τῶν ἐν μέσῳ οὐδεὶς οὐδέποτε ἀρξέται), which is as follows: 'alterum γε ex Guelf. Paris. A. B. Altorf., addidimus. Hanc enim particulam in uno orationis membro bis poni posse negavit quidem ad h. l. Zeunius, a quo non multum dissentit Porson ad Med. 863. Sed

utramque satis refutavit Heindorf ad Euthyd. p. 319, &c., &c.' Heindorf's somewhat slight note could not thus be used against Zeune and Porson unless they had denied all repetition of γε in the same clause. Porson (*l.c.*) does not express such a view, and Zeune did not entertain it, as is shown by this note of his on the part of Viger which treats of γε. 'Aliquando γε repetitur et alterum significat saltem vel tantum, alterum videtur παραπληρωματικόν, &c.' Poppo also here refers to *Cyrop.* IV. iii. 14, ὃ γε μὴν μάλιστ' ἂν τις φοβηθεῖ μὴ, κ.τ.λ., on which he notes γε post μάλιστ' e Guelf. et Paris. inseruimus.

One may suspect that modern editors would have done away with the double ἂν, if ἂν had been as easy to emend as γε.

J. COOK WILSON.

(To be continued.)

BUTCHER AND PRICKARD ON ARISTOTLE'S CONCEPTION OF ART AND POETRY.

Some Aspects of the Greek Genius: by S. H. BUTCHER. Macmillan. 1891. 7s. 6d.
Aristotle on the Art of Poetry: by A. O. PRICKARD. Macmillan. 1891. 3s. 6d.

THE most substantial part—in amount about one half—of Professor Butcher's interesting book is devoted to 'Aristotle's conception of fine art and poetry.' He begins naturally with the more general idea, fine art, or rather with art, the most general of all. If I understand him rightly (for perhaps he has not made the matter perfectly clear), he holds that according to Aristotle useful art and fine art are both alike 'imitative,' but are not both imitative in the same way. Useful art (he seems to say) imitates rather the methods of nature, fine art rather the results. The physician, for instance, employs 'nature's own machinery' in the production of health, while the artist's way of 'producing' a healthy man is absolutely different. Something like this does indeed seem to be implied by Aristotle's expressions, though it will hardly bear being carried out in detail. Another Aristotelian distinction between the two is that, though both in a sense 'supply the deficiencies of nature,' useful art supplies practical deficiencies and ministers to our comfort, while fine art supplies aesthetic deficiencies and ministers directly

to some of our best and highest pleasures. The former, as Prof. Butcher points out, is πρὸς τἀναγκαῖα, the latter πρὸς διαγωγὴν and πρὸς ἡδονήν. This is perhaps a more real distinction than the other. In any case, for ordinary purposes, it is clear and true, though no doubt the line between necessities and pleasures would be hard to draw. Certainly Prof. Butcher is right in holding that according to Aristotle the end of fine art is the pleasure given to the senses and the mind of the spectator, the word 'spectator' being of course used in a wide sense. Art is not its own end, nor has it any other end than that of pleasing other people than the artist. The best art will please the best judge, and that is what the best artist aims at, holding himself to have failed if his work does not please. Aristotle was not, like Plato, afraid or ashamed of pleasure. He knew its varieties better and recognised in how many things it has the last word to say. But the third and most vital point to bear in mind with regard to his conception of fine art—I am still following Prof. Butcher—is its 'universal' (καθόλου) character. 'If we may expand Aristotle's idea in the light of his own system,—fine art eliminates what is transient and particular and reveals the permanent and essential features of the original. It discovers the

"form" towards which the object tends, the result which nature strives to attain, but rarely or never can attain. Beneath the individual it detects the type.' Fine art therefore was not, as Plato said, three times removed from truth. 'The work of art was not a semblance opposed to reality, but the image of a reality which is penetrated by the idea, and through which the idea shows more transparent than in the actual world.' Prof. Butcher then proceeds to show that what is true of all fine art is especially true of poetry, which expresses most adequately the universal element in human life; and this brings him more directly to the *Poetics*, and particularly to the famous comparison of poetry and history in the ninth chapter. His remarks on it and his citations from Coleridge and Goethe are well worth reading. He goes on to show that comedy not less than tragedy, though differently, 'idealises' or universalises (for the two words mean the same to him), and that in a sense even Aristophanes dealt in types rather than individuals, though Aristotle would have ranked him among those who followed the *ἰαμβικὴ ἰδέα*. After another section, which seems not quite in its right place, and in which he further enforces his contention that Aristotle took a pure and elevated pleasure to be the object of tragedy, as of all fine art, and after some illustrations from Greek literature of 'poetic universality,' Prof. Butcher approaches Aristotle's definition of tragedy and discusses the puzzling subject of the *káthapōris*. The last section deals with the relative importance of plot and character in the drama, and upholds Aristotle's judgment in favour of the former.

In this short outline I have given little idea of the manner in which the writer presents and argues his points. Considering the nature of the subject and the scantiness of the materials, he is extremely lucid, and he writes with a command of graceful language not always given to scholars. Those familiar with the *Poetics* and the other writings of Aristotle will not indeed find anything very new in his chief points, but there is probably no English book in which they are so well brought together and so admirably stated. No student of the *Poetics* should fail to read what he has written, and very few will fail to learn something from his presentation even of familiar points.

I cannot feel as confident as he and Mr. Prickard seem to be that Bernays' theory of the *káthapōris* is right. It is too large a subject to argue here, but the 'medical

metaphor' so explained seems to imply that at a tragedy men work off periodically accumulations of pity and fear, which have been forming in their minds during the interval, just as more material accumulations are discharged from the body after forming there for a certain time. Now is it true that pity and fear accumulate thus in our minds in the intervals of theatre-going or Shakespeare-reading, and that we are sensibly relieved of them by the sight or study of a tragedy? Probably few people would claim for themselves any such experience. If then it is untrue, we seem to need further evidence than the obscure passage in the *Politics* before we conclude that Aristotle committed himself to the theory. Prof. Butcher partly recognises this difficulty when he pleads that pity and fear 'are not, as some have maintained, rare and abnormal emotions,' and that 'the Greeks from temperament, circumstances, and religious beliefs, may have been more sensitive to their influence than we are, and more likely to suffer from them in a morbid form.' There are of course many other points to be considered, but this initial difficulty has always seemed to me a serious one. It may be doubted also whether Prof. Butcher is justified in trying to avail himself of the double meaning of the word *káthapōris* (purgation and purification), and contending that the emotions of pity and fear undergo a *káthapōris* of both kinds or, as he says, 'are are not so much purged away as purged.' Does he think the passage in the *Politics* admits of this double meaning? He says that 'in the medical language of the school of Hippocrates it (*káthapōris*) strictly denotes not the entire expulsion of any given substance from the organism, but a partial expulsion,—the removal of a painful or disturbing element, and hence the purifying of what remains, by the elimination of alien matter.' But surely there is a little confusion here. The expulsion of the painful element is total, not partial. To put it grammatically, if the genitive after *káthapōris* expresses the painful element, then *káthapōris* means 'purging away': it only means 'purifying' when the genitive gives the body or substance from which the painful element is removed. If the emotions are purged away, they are not purified: if they are purified, they are not purged away. We cannot use both meanings at once. But Prof. Butcher seems almost to use three at once, for the 'morbid element' which he at first supposes to be purged away from the emotions, and which he explains to be the

selfish element, is subsequently identified with the pain.

It is hard to see what ground he has for saying with reference to the exclusion of bad characters that 'it is merely the foremost place which is denied to the villain.' No doubt Ch. 13 refers only to the leading character of the play, but the canon in Ch. 15 that the characters should be good refers, like the other canons, to all the characters alike: and, as a matter of fact, there is a striking absence of the villain from Greek tragedy. It is remarkable that Aristotle could find no more noteworthy instance than the Menelaus of the *Orestes*. We may doubt also whether Prof. Butcher is right in adopting the view that the names used in comedy are spoken of in Ch. 9 as significant, or in so interpreting Ch. 2 as to think that Aristotle held some prose compositions to be poetry. But both these are disputed points.

Mr. Prickard's lecture, also delivered to Scotch students, on the *Poetics* is much slighter than Prof. Butcher's work and makes no pretension to be more than a very well written account of a few of the main points of the book. It is not long enough to contain much discussion and it practically does little more than state the theories of imitation and purgation or purification in an easy and clear way. As to the former, Mr. Prickard goes much less deep, as from the occasion and scope of his lecture might be expected: as to the latter he agrees with Prof. Butcher in adopting the theory with which Bernays' name is most associated. In publishing he has added a few notes by way of illustration and explanation: among them one containing what is, I believe, a novel interpretation of the *συλλογισμός* by which in Ch. 16 the 'recognition' or 'discovery' of the *Choephoroe* is said to be effected. As it is novel, Mr. Prickard will expect it to be received with suspicion. Aristotle's syllogism is—*ὁμοίός τις ἐλήλυθεν, ὁμοίος δὲ οὐδεὶς ἀλλ' ἢ ὁ Ὀρέστης· οὗτος ἄρα ἐλήλυθεν*. The common explanation is 'Some one like me has come,' but this Mr. Prickard will not accept, for it implies (he says) 'fatuity' in Electra, and he holds the reasoning to be 'Some one like *Orestes* has come: no one is like him but *Orestes*: therefore *Orestes* has come.' But when he explains this, we find that his first premise is something quite different from 'Some one like *Orestes* has come.' His argument is 'Some one has

done certain things: only *Orestes* would do them: therefore they have been done by *Orestes*.' This is fair and admissible reasoning, but how can it be represented by Aristotle's *ὁμοίος*? It is also essentially different from another argument which Mr. Prickard seems to have half in his mind—'The hair is most like his'—and which would seem to involve the fatuity (if fatuity there be) which Mr. Prickard finds in the common theory.—'This hair is like that of *Orestes*; I know it to be so, because it is like mine: but no one has hair like *Orestes* except *Orestes* himself: it must therefore be *Orestes* who has come.' He seems not to see that Aristophanes (*Clouds* 531) implies an argument quite different from that in Sophocles and Euripides. Their argument is indeed what he wishes to find in Aristotle; but surely Aristotle's words admit of no such interpretation. The truth is that, while in the *Choephoroe* both arguments are used, Aristotle gives only one, and that is not I think the one which Mr. Prickard likes best. He has also somewhat misconceived the *συλλογισμός* of the *Iphigenia*, which is not really a syllogism in the logical sense at all, but only a putting of things together—'my sister was sacrificed and now I am to be sacrificed too.' What would be the justification for the startling premise he supplies—'such things run in families'? But it must be confessed that whoever wrote Ch. 16 of the *Poetics* wrote very confusedly.

A feature common to both of the books before us is the excellence of the style in which they are written. What Prof. Butcher in one of his essays says of Prof. Jebb, that he 'presents his learning in forms of graceful and finished composition,' is true of himself: and Mr. Prickard too writes in very graceful and careful English.

I have not left myself room to comment on the rest of Prof. Butcher's book. It consists of six lectures or articles, one of which (on the 'Unity of Learning') has perhaps hardly enough connexion with the rest. The others include the eloquent inaugural lecture ('What we owe to Greece') which was published at the time of its delivery; an interesting address delivered to the University of Glasgow Dialectic Society on 'The written and the spoken word,' in which the Greek preference for 'the spoken word' is excellently handled; and an able essay on the Greek idea of the state.

H. RICHARDS.

MONRO'S GRAMMAR OF THE HOMERIC DIALECT.

A Grammar of the Homeric Dialect, by D. B. MONRO. Second edition revised and enlarged. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1891. 14s.

THE learning of the Provost of Oriel is everywhere recognized as both sound and deep, and his *Homeric Grammar* has become an important part of the scholar's apparatus. The new edition is enlarged from 344 to 436 pages, each part of the work sharing in the increase. Few paragraphs remain unchanged; many are rewritten, and some are added. With unusual consideration for the convenience of the user of the book, the former numbering of sections is retained—new sections being indicated by asterisks. Part of the additional space is required by the larger type in which some remarks are set. Ten pages are wisely added to the Index. Scholars will welcome many additional statistics, complete lists instead of mere examples, and definite references instead of general statements. The *Grammar* is made somewhat broader in scope, and includes illustrations from Hesiod and the Cyclic Fragments; it gives more references to the original discussions of philological questions, and more explanations of linguistic phenomena. Many brief additions are both stimulating and suggestive.

The book has been made more distinctly an aid to the maturer scholar, and doubtless it never was intended for the beginner. The scholar will be thankful for what he has, but will hope for more statistics and definiteness of statement in the third edition. Sections remain which can be improved with little effort. On p. 85, we read, 'Stems in - \tilde{a} (η) and - \tilde{a} form the gen. plur. in - $\tilde{a}\omega\nu$, less commonly - $\epsilon\omega\nu$. The - $\epsilon\omega\nu$ is generally scanned - $\tilde{\epsilon}\omega\nu$.' Does the author know of more than three exceptions to this law of synizesis? On p. 91, 'the forms $\nu\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon$ $\nu\acute{\iota}\omega$ $\nu\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon\iota$ are very rare in Homer.' Read rather, ' $\nu\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon$ is found only χ 238; $\nu\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon\iota$ only τ 418; $\nu\acute{\iota}\omega$ is not found at all in Homer.' On p. 93, ' $\tau\acute{\omicron}\iota\varsigma$ - $\delta\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota\nu$ or $\tau\acute{\omicron}\iota\varsigma$ - $\delta\epsilon\sigma\iota\nu$ (*Il.* 10, 462 and *Od.*),' the four passages in the *Odyssey* where these forms are found should have been enumerated. On p. 94 the references

for several $\tilde{a}\pi\alpha\tilde{\varsigma}$ λεγόμενα are given, but $\tilde{a}\nu\delta\rho\alpha\kappa\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ appears without a reference to ν 14. On the next page, $\mu\epsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omega\varsigma$ is marked as 'rare' (instead of 'only π 432, P 323'; while $\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ receives no mark as rare, although it too occurs but once or twice.

That a few infelicities should creep into such a work is only human. $\beta\acute{\iota}\beta\alpha\varsigma$, p. 57, is probably only a slipped accent for $\beta\iota\beta\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$, and $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\alpha\nu\epsilon$, p. 61, is for $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\alpha\nu\epsilon$. In some matters the author would grant readily that difference of opinion was fair. On p. 142, treating of H 222 f. $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ $\alpha\acute{\iota}\omicron\lambda\omicron\nu$ $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\tau\alpha\beta\acute{\omicron}\epsilon\omicron\nu$ $\tau\alpha\acute{\iota}\rho\omicron\nu$ $\zeta\alpha\tau\epsilon\phi\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$, the genitive $\tau\alpha\acute{\iota}\rho\omicron\nu$ receives a rare adjectival character, instead of being construed as in opposition with the $\beta\omicron\omega\nu$ which is implied in $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\tau\alpha\beta\acute{\omicron}\epsilon\omicron\nu$. Many datives are classed as 'locatival' which may well be datives of interest. Compare $\theta\epsilon\omicron\iota\varsigma\iota$ $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ $\tilde{a}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota$ $\tilde{a}\nu\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\iota$ B 669, $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ $\pi\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\omicron\iota\omega$ $\tilde{e}\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\sigma\sigma\epsilon$ $\lambda\alpha\omicron\iota\varsigma$ Alcaeus 61, $\kappa\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{\iota}\alpha\delta\epsilon\omega$ $\tilde{a}\rho\chi\omicron\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$ $\tilde{A}\theta\eta\nu\alpha\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon\iota$ Herodotus viii. 51, $\tilde{\iota}\omega\nu\omicron\varsigma$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\tilde{a}\rho\chi\epsilon\omega$ $\gamma\epsilon\nu\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\nu$ $\tilde{A}\theta\eta\nu\alpha\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon\iota$ *ib.* 44. The 'equivalent constructions with prepositions,' like $\tilde{o}\varsigma$ $\tilde{\epsilon}\nu$ $\phi\alpha\acute{\iota}\gamma\epsilon\tilde{\iota}$ $\tilde{a}\nu\alpha\sigma\sigma\epsilon$, really prove nothing since the poet often looks at a matter from two points of view and uses sometimes a genitive of separation, occasionally an accusative of the person deprived, and again a dative of disadvantage, with the same general force. Thus Homer can say 'rules for gods and men,' and also 'rules among the Phaeacians.' The constant and technical prosaic use of $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha$ $\tilde{a}\rho\chi\omicron\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$ $\tilde{A}\theta\eta\nu\alpha\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon\iota$ is not likely to be a survival of the rare locatival dative of persons. So also, in $\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\iota$ δ' $\tilde{a}\nu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\eta$ and $\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\iota$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\mu\acute{\iota}\theta\omega\nu$ $\tilde{h}\rho\chi\epsilon$, the dative may be construed as the true dative, and with all the more probability because of the large use of that dative in the Homeric poems. The author objects to the interpretation of $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$ with the genitive as *de chez*. But if $\pi\alpha\rho'$ $\tilde{a}\mu\mu\iota$ a 123 means 'at our house,' as it clearly does, the interpretation of $\pi\alpha\rho'$ $\tilde{\iota}\lambda\omicron\nu$ a 259 as 'from the home of Ilus,' seems almost necessary, even though that is not the original use of the preposition with this case.

But enough of such *adversaria*. We are heartily glad to have the book.

T. D. SEYMOUR.

CAMBRIDGE TEXTS AND STUDIES. VOL. I. PARTS II. AND III.

Texts and Studies: Contributions to Biblical and Patristic Literature: edited by J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON, B.D. Vol. I. No. 2. *The Passion of S. Perpetua: with an Appendix on the Scillitan Martyrdom*: by the Editor. 4s. net. Vol. I. No. 3. *The Lord's Prayer in the Early Church*: by FREDERICK H. CHASE, B.D. Cambridge, 1891. Pp. viii. 131; xii. 179. 5s. net.

It was not to be expected that the exceptionally high value and interest of the first number of this welcome series would be often reached. Nevertheless the second and third numbers are worthy followers of their predecessor, although they almost of necessity take a lower rank as contributions to theological literature: and to most readers probably the second number will prove more interesting than the third.

The touching story of the martyrdom of S. Perpetua and her companions has been familiar to many from their childhood, if only through the popular and charming rendering of it by J. M. Neale. Interest in the sources of the history was roused to a considerable extent a year and a half ago, when Professor Rendel Harris, aided by Professor Seth Gifford of Haverford College, Pennsylvania, published at the Cambridge Press a complete Greek text of the Martyrdom, which he had been so fortunate as to discover in the Convent of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem early in 1889. It is a very pardonable fault in those who make discoveries, that they are apt to overestimate their value. When Cureton discovered the abbreviated Syriac Version of the Ignatian Epistles, he was persuaded that now for the first time we were in possession of the genuine Ignatius: and Bishop Lightfoot has told us that for a time he was inclined to agree with him. In a similar way Professor Harris was at first disposed to maintain that he had been instrumental in making known to the world the original narrative of the sufferings of the Carthaginian martyrs, and that the Latin account on which we had depended so long was a translation of the Greek text which he had recovered. By printing Ruinart's passable, but not very accurate, Latin text of the *Passio* along with the Greek *Μαρτύριον*, he gave his readers a fair opportunity of judging of the probability of this hypothesis. It would be interesting

to know how many adherents it won. As Mr. Robinson points out, the hypothesis was antecedently paradoxical: 'for we naturally expect that the martyrdoms of a Latin Church will be chronicled in the Latin tongue.' But Mr. Harris, we are told, has already surrendered the position, and now regards the Latin as the original. But, if any one needs to be convinced on the point, he will find good materials for a decided opinion in the work before us. The editor shows that the Greek text has the most conspicuous marks of being a translation. It introduces explanatory words and phrases, not needed by those who can understand the Latin. It omits expressions which are difficult to translate or explain. It lacks the terse vigour of the Latin, becoming at times diffuse and proportionately weaker. Once at least we find a play of words in the Latin which is lost in the Greek. The Latin exists in two forms, a longer and a shorter, of which the longer is unquestionably the original; and the shorter Latin is sometimes found to agree with the Greek against the longer Latin form. The shorter Latin probably was produced when the longer was found to be too long for the annual commemoration, especially in places which had no special interest in Carthaginian martyrs. In one respect the short form is more full than the long one. It supplies the missing *Acta*, i.e. the trial, with the discussion between the martyrs and the Roman magistrate, in which spurious narratives of martyrdoms are commonly so rich. In the present case the internal evidence of this addition to the original narrative is fatal to its admission as genuine. In short, the abbreviator 'has marred everything that he has touched.'

In two interesting sections the editor shows that the visions of the martyrs were probably influenced by material that they had derived from the *Shepherd of Hermas* and the *Apocalypse of Peter*. Even if the coincidences which he has collected for us were fewer in number, this view would be probable enough with respect to the *Shepherd*. For a century or more after its coming into circulation about A.D. 150 it received a very wide recognition as an inspired book, and for a time was far better known and more generally accepted as Scripture than one or two books which are in our N.T. In some places the *Apocalypse*

of *Peter* was similarly recognized, but probably much less widely than the *Shepherd*.

Mr. Robinson is inclined to believe that the Vision of Perpetua is given to us pretty much in her own words; and that the like may be true of the Vision of Saturus. He feels 'justified in saying that Perpetua has a distinct style of her own, which marks off her writing from that of the compiler of the Martyrdom.' Both she and Saturus exhibit 'extreme simplicity' in their narratives. When the redactor takes up the narrative it becomes 'full of epigram and chastened rhetorical contrast.' The editor inclines strongly to the view that the unnamed redactor is Tertullian, and the internal evidence which he marshals for us makes a good *prima facie* case.

In the Appendix Mr. Robinson gives us what he believes to be the original Latin form of the Acts of the Scillitan Martyrs, which he discovered in the British Museum (Codex No. 11, 880) August 30th, 1890. It is said to be of the 9th century; and he has since discovered at Vienna and Evreux MSS. of the same Martyrdom of the 11th and 13th centuries, which correspond closely with the one in the British Museum. In 1881 Usener published the Martyrdom in a Greek form from a MS. at Paris dated 890, which Aubé thought was the original. Usener himself contended that it was a translation from a lost Latin original; and the British Museum recension confirms this view. If it is correct, Mr. Robinson has the honour of editing for the first time 'what may perhaps claim to be the earliest consecutive piece of Christian Latin which has been preserved to us.' He prints it side by side with the Greek form, so that his readers can easily judge the rival claims. And he appends the two other Latin recensions, as given by Baronius and Aubé, from which the details of this martyrdom were previously known. 'Almost every word of the ancient form is preserved in one or other of these recensions, which have modified their original in different directions.' The editor is once more to be congratulated upon the opportunity which he has won for himself, and the admirable use which he has made of it.

In the third number of this excellent series we enter upon altogether different ground. In it Mr. Chase discusses the position of the *Lord's Prayer in the Early Church* and the bearing of this upon its original form. In the Gospels we have two forms of it, a longer one which St. Matthew tells us that Christ spontaneously gave to

the disciples in public; and a shorter one, which St. Luke tells us that He gave to His disciples in private, in answer to the request of one of them that He would teach them to pray. Mr. Chase supposes that neither form is in the strictest sense original. 'For in the period which intervened between the occasion when our Lord first taught the Prayer and the time when the Evangelists gave it a place in the Gospels, it had passed through one stage, and had already entered upon the second stage of its history.' It had been used first of all privately by the disciples; and afterwards publicly in the Christian synagogues. Only the latter point is open to investigation; and in connexion with it Mr. Chase endeavours to establish the following points. (1) The Lord's command, 'After this manner pray ye' (Mt. vi. 9), was obeyed; and in the Early Church the Prayer was in constant daily use. (2) The Prayer was originally in Aramaic, and was quickly translated according to existing requirements. So that, when a version of the Gospels was made, a translation of the Prayer had always preceded it and was ready to the translator's hand in a form sanctioned by devotional use. (3) The disciples adapted the Prayer for use on special occasions, either by alterations or by additions.

Thus (i.) by substituted or added clauses the Prayer was made more suitable for the Laying on of hands and perhaps Baptism: (ii.) by changes in the petition for *daily bread* the Prayer was adapted to morning and evening use: and (iii.) by various doxologies it was rendered more suitable for Eucharistic use.

A new edition of Dr. Lightfoot's book *On Revision* has recently been published. It contains not only the famous discussion of the term *ἐπιούσιος*, but also the equally famous discussion of the clause *ἵνα ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ*. Hitherto the latter has been accessible only in the pages of the *Guardian*, and the republication of it in a convenient form is a very great boon. On the first point Mr. Chase is of opinion that *ἐπιούσιος* is no part of the original form of the petition, but is due to liturgical use, and that in the first instance the clause ran thus, 'Give us our (or the) bread of the day.' On the latter, to the consideration of which he devotes 97 out of 176 pages, he decides with Bishop Lightfoot for the masculine interpretation. It is scarcely necessary to add that he considers the doxology given in some texts of St. Matthew's Gospel to be no part of the original Prayer. This doxology, *as such*,

seems not to be original, but to be a conflation of two earlier forms, ἡ βασιλεία καὶ ἡ δόξα and ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα, the former of which is very possibly of Jewish origin. It will be remembered that the latter occurs

in the *Didaché*, appended not only to the Lord's Prayer (viii. 2) but to another for the gathering together of the Church (x. 5).

A. PLUMMER.

LEO'S EDITION OF THE *CULEX*.

Culex carmen Vergilio ascriptum recensuit et emendavit FRIDERICUS LEO. Accedit Copa elegia. Berolini apud Wiedmannos. MDCCXCI. (117 pages, 3 Marks.)

THE latest editor of the *Culex* shall first say in his own words how he has dealt with the critical materials collected by his predecessors. 'Haec igitur sylloga,' that is to say, of the *septem loca inuenalia Vergilii*, 'Culicem nobis tradidit, i.e. Codex Petri Bembi nunc Vaticanus saeculi IX. . . . et saeculo uno duobusve recentiores eius cognati . . . huius codicis variam lectionem ipsi carmini adnotavi, usus Ribbeckii copiis ut fecit Baehrens; discrepantes a reliquis Bembi scripturas ubi videbatur significavi, interdum Bembi cum uno alterove consensum indicasse satis habui; omnino de archetypi lectione non saepe dubitari potest. accedunt excerptorum Parisinorum scripturae nonnullae . . . ad archetypum autem reliquorum per multos corruptionis gradus redit codex s. XV. Vossianus, cui multum editores recentiores omnes tribuerunt, plurimum Baehrens. lectionem habet ab homine docto audacibus correcturis interpolatam neque quicquam utile praebet praeter conjecturas; sed in ultima carminis parte exemplar eius variam lectionem habuisse videtur ex fragmento codicis nunc amissi ascriptam qua de re explicatius disseram ad v. 318.'

Those who study these announcements and the mode in which they are carried out in the 'varia lectio' and its occasional supplements in the commentary will feel some wonder and at first perhaps some envy at the smallness of Prof. Leo's critical apparatus. They will observe to begin with that many readings of the Bembinus and its cognates are missing from the foot-notes. These will be found to occupy, without adorning, the text. They will further observe the omission of all reference to the Roman codex discovered by Mr. Ellis, *Journal of Philology* xvi. pp. 153 sqq., though an emendation of R. Unger from the

same volume is quoted on p. 43. Lastly they will see that the casting overboard of the Vossianus as 'interpolated' has still further lightened the critical ship. By an arbitrary hypothesis which must be judged on intrinsic grounds only, seeing that no external evidence has been produced in its favour, the editor has limited the defenders of this codex to the first three quarters of the poem; but he has stated the charge in such a way that it can easily be tested. *V*, he says, contains nothing useful but conjectures. Now in 249 'impietate fera uacordem Colchida matrem' the Bembinus (*B*) and the other MSS. read 'conchida,' but *V* has 'colchida.' This can be no conjecture; for it means nothing. It must then be a genuine remnant of the original 'Colchida' which Leo with all other editors accepts. In 194 'tali' is similarly unmeaning; but it points to 'talis' (editors including Leo, *B* and the rest having 'tales.') In the second line 'atque ut araneoli tenuem formauimus orsum' (so Leo and editors with *V*, *B* 'ursum') if 'orsum' with its rare use and form is a conjecture, it is not one to be expected from the ordinary corrector. Few more certain emendations, Leo's rejection notwithstanding, have been made than Baehrens' in 245 'otia quaerenti (-em *codd.*) frustra ceruice, puellae,' of the Danaides, which is based on *V*'s 'ceu uite' (*B* 'siblite'). Interpolations in *V* there undoubtedly are. In 236 Leo seems right in regarding 'conati quom sint quondam rescindere caelum' (*B* etc. 'inscindere mundum') as a correction from Virgil of the Homeric account of Otos and Ephialtes; and 'uere nouo' ('notet' *B*) in 71 may be another Virgilian importation. Nor are 'memoris' (laticis *B*) 18 and 'iterabat Ityn' for 'Ityn edit Ityn' 252 honest mistakes. But there are also interpolations in the Excerpta; and in the Cantabrigiensis, a 'cognate' of the Bembinus, as I shall presently show. Even the Bembinus is not exempt; 'metuenda' 332 is an example pointed out by Leo. The origin of these

interpolations in *V* is obscure. Baehrens, who appears to disbelieve in their existence, is right in asserting that they could not have proceeded from its scribe; for *V* is full of stupid and ignorant mistakes. Whether the explanation is to be sought in an interpolation of the copy or of the recension, time and a full collation of the Corsini codex may show. But, in any case, there seems no reason for doubting that many of the readings of *V* in the *Culex* as a whole are derived from a good and genuine source; for example 93 'iucundoque *liget* languentia corpora somno' ('*licet*' *B*, where the Helmstadiensis has the miserable conjecture '*locet*') and the Excerpta another correction '*leuet*') which Leo accepts, and 58—60 'o bona pastoris, si quis non pauperis usum | mente prius docta fastidiat et probet illis | somnia luxuriae *spretis*' (*B* '*pretiis*') which he rejects. In 188, 189 *V* gives 'obtritum morti misit cui dissitus omnis | spiritus excessit *sensim*,' which expresses a Lucretian idea (iii. 525 'saepe hominem paulatim cernimus ire | et *membratim* uitalem deperdere sensum; | in pedibus primum digitos luescere et unguis, | inde pedes et crura mori, post inde per artus | ire alios *tractim* gelidi uestigia leti') with perfect appropriateness in Lucretian language (iii. 374 *sqq.* 'nam cum multo sunt animae elementa minora | quam quibus e corpus nobis et uiscera constant | tum numero quoque concedunt et rara per artus | *dissita* sunt dumtaxat'): Leo, reading 'sensus' with *B*, first puts in the author's mouth the astonishing statement that the 'breath leaves the senses' and next charges him with ignorance of Lucretian phraseology.

I now turn to the Roman codex or Corsini as Ellis calls it. Its value cannot be precisely gauged until it has been completely collated. His report however gives us sure indications of importance. From it Ellis has excellently restored 365, 366 'Mucius et prudens ardorem corpore passus | cui cessit *Lydi timefacta* potentia regis' ('cui cessit lidithime facta' Corsini, 'legitime cessit cui facta' ('*fracta*' *V*) *B*, where Leo explains 'legitime' as 'iure' and does not feel the want of any parallel—'tam apte quadrat ad ipsam rem et vocabuli naturam.' In 262 'preferre' (perferre *uulg.*), 185 'gemmas' ('*gemmans*' Schrader, '*gemmis*' *uulg.*), 352 'letam' ('*laetans*' Ellis, '*leta*' *edd.*, '*letum*' *B etc.*) it is nearer to the truth than any other codex. It is obviously related in some way to *V*. In 357 *B etc.* have '(Phrygiae naga praeda preemptae) fluctuat omnis in

aequoreo naufragia luctu,' *V* has 'omnis in (a)equoreo fluitat iam naufraga fluctu'; Cors. with 'omnis in equoreo fluit atia naufrage luctu' stands between both, but nearer to *V* than to *B*. In 380 *B etc.* have 'dimittite somnia nentis,' *V* 'dimictere sompnia u.' and Cors. 'dimitteres omnia u.' Most interesting of all, in 332 'Zanclaea Charybdis,' is vouched for by *V*'s 'ranolea' alone; but in '*uerida*' Cors. also has an uninterpolated reading. *zanclaea* passed by easy corruptions into *ruenda*, that is *uerida* with the *r* lost and *ri* for *n*. *metuenda*, the reading of *B* and company, is simply a rough correction of *ruenda* read as *tuenda*.

The aid of *B*, *V* and Cors. together with the Excerpta then must be invoked in settling the text of the *Culex*. Need we add any more to this tetrad? Certainly not the worthless Bodleian, Auct. F. I. 17, in spite of Ellis, merciful to the most depraved manuscripts (*American Journal of Philology* iii. pp. 271 *sqq.*). Nor the interpolated Helmstadiensis (*H*), one of the four MSS. selected by Baehrens for citation in his text in *Poetae Latini Minores* vol. ii. This codex is sometimes alone in presenting the right reading, as in 96 'poetae' for 'poeta,' 221 'horrent' for 'arent,' 271 'aut' for 'haud,' 279 'insederat' for 'insiderat,' 374 'phlegethonta' for 'phlegethon,' 402 'surgens decus' for 'decus surgens,' 403 'roris' for 'rosis,' and, with *C*, 278 'amnes' for 'omnes'; but all these are easy corrections. Nor in 128 is '(at quibus . . .) ambustus Phaethon luctu mutauerat artus' for 'ambustos' much more difficult. The Cambridge MS., collated by Munro and designated as *C* by Ribbeck and Baehrens, is useful as an eleventh century witness to the excellence of the Bembinus; but it has nothing good of its own to offer and shows interpolations in at least five passages: 295 'peccatum meminisse tuos graue sede piorum' ('*grauas* tuos' *B*, '*grauet*; nos' Baehr.), 343 'ibat in altum | uis argo repetens patriam' ('*argore* petens *B*, '*Argea* petens' *edd.* from *V* '*Argoa* petens;') *H* corrupts still further 'agros repetens'), 355 'nereaque late | litora' ('*erea* que' *B*, '*Aegaeaque*' *edd.* from *V*), 373 'uacuos a lumine Phoebi' for 'uiduos,' 399 'per orbem' which to my surprise Ellis adopts ('*terrorem*' *B*, depraved by *H* into '*tenorem*'). Its reading in 34 '*uehementis*' (*B* '*uenientis*') seems to be an attempt to represent '*uenientis*'.

To return to our editor. As already hinted, he has disfigured his text by re-introducing many corruptions which pre-

vious scholars had removed. An article by Prof. Buecheler (*Rheinisches Museum* 1890 pp. 324 sqq.) appears to have cast an evil spell over him, and dulled his perception of Latin and sense. Hence in 45—53 'propulit e stabulis ad pabula laeta capellas | pastor et excelsi montis iuga summa petiuit | *lurida* (edd. florida) qua patulos uelabant gramina colles. | iam siluis dumisque uagae, iam uallibus abund | corpora iamque omni celeres e parte uagantes | tondebant tenero uiridantia gramina morsu; | *scrupea* desertas haerebant ad caua rupes (*Baehrens* after *Bembus* 'scrupea desertas perrepunt ad caua rupis', placing the verse before the previous one), | pendula proiectis carpuntur et arbura ramis | densaque uirgultis auide labrusca petuntur' he believes that, when the shepherd drove his goats 'ad pabula laeta' he drove them ad *lurida* gramina 'id est semius-ta ac retorrída sole' (Buecheler) and that 'fortasse *viridans* (50) noluit idem esse quod *viride*'; and in 51 he sees nothing strange in the apposition of 'scrupea caua' and 'desertas rupes' nor in the apparition of this rock-climbing in the midst of the goats' pasture. Two more examples of his results will suffice. In 268, 9 the gnat is giving an account of the heroines he meets in the world below. *Baehrens*' text (268, 9) offers the fruits of the intellect of several scholars: 'quid, misera Eurydice, tanto maerore recessi? | poenane respectus et nunc manet *Orpheos* in te?'; Leo's the unaltered manuscript tradition: 'quid misera Eurydice tanto maerore recessit | poenane (in his note he wavers towards 'poenane') respectus et nunc manet, *Orpheus*, in te?' To pass over other points, we should be glad to know what *Orpheus* is doing amongst the heroines and why his punishment makes *Eurydice* sad. Again in 311, 312 the MSS. have 'ipsa uagis namque *Ida* patens (potens *V*) feritatis et (ab *V*) ipsa | daque faces altrix cupidus (cupide *V*) praebebat alumnus (alumnis *V*).'
Baehrens reads 'ipsa iugis namque *Ida* potens uiridantibus, ipsa | *Ida* faces altrix cupidus praebebat alumnis'; Leo reads 'ipsa uagis namque *Ida* patens, feritatis et ipsa | *Ida* faces altrix cupidus praebebat alumnis.' Which is more likely to have been written in a poem, attributed by the ancients to Virgil, and of which Lucan, no bad judge of Latin writing, said 'et quantum mihi restat ad Culicem!?' Leo comments on his reading as follows: 'ipsa uagis namque *Ida* patens: mons ceteroquin asper et inuius patet vagantibus et taedarum copiam colligentibus alumnis. . . . Faces feritatis cupidus dixit, et apte dixit cupidus saevitiae eas quae nisi vim flammae recepissent nec saevire possent

nec nocere. cf. Stat. *Ach.* 1, 435 *pigris addunt mucronibus iras*.' Could we have a more striking illustration of Madvig's dictum that emendation must precede interpretation? In 243, 244 Leo rightly goes back to the reading of the *Bembinus*, with only the slight change of 'acerbas' to -us, 'quid saxum procul aduerso qui monte reuoluit, | contempsisse dolor quem numina uincit acerbus?' The reflection is the same as that of Virgil's on 'miserrimus' Phlegyas: 'discite iustitiam moniti et non temnere diuos.' His note on *turba* and *turma* (248) is useful: so will be his illustrations of *omnia* (168) when properly sifted.

There are not many emendations of Leo's own in the book. I may mention, without endorsing, the following: 21, 22 'et tu, sancta Pales, ad quam *secura* recurrit | agrestum bona dicturus' ('uentura — *secura*' *codd.*), 170 'fulgoribus: ecce | sublimes ceruice caput' ('et se' *codd.*), 245 'otia quarentem frustra sinite, ite puellae' (see above).

Space does not permit of a detailed examination of his *Copa*. The few explanatory notes are incorporated with the critical apparatus which gives the readings of the '*Bembinus cum suis*' and the *Monacensis*. It shows the same blind depreciation of *V* and devotion to Buecheler which we noted on the *Culex*. To this we owe the retention of the following corruptions: 3 'formosa—taberna,' 28 'nunc uere in gelida sedelacerta latet,' 33 'formosum tenerae decerpens ora puellae,' where we read 'formosum uindicauit Buechelerus,' justified it, that is, by inventing the expression 'formosa basiatio' and saying 'scripsit formosum . . . imitatus poetas adiectiva solitos flectere in aduerbia (salve aeternum, perfidum ridens, pavidum blandita al.) aucupatus nativam illam dulcedinem quam Gellius miratur in Theocriteo uerbo τὸ καλὸν περιληψέμεν,' 29 'aestiuom (that is 'pro aestate id dictum prove rebus aestiuis sic ut verum pro vere hibernum pro hieme etsi non invaluisse talia nisi postmodo scio. perplacebat (!) hoc: pulverem lassitudinem aestatis quidlibet prolue vino' Buecheler) Buechelerus proposuit probabiliter.' On 36 'anne coronato uis lapide ista tegi?' Leo's note is: 'an vis lapide tegi eumque lapidem coronari istis sertis?' Buechelerus. Ego dubito num poeta ante v. 38 mortem ipsi quem invitat instantem innuat, et conieci teri.' Before writing this Leo should have considered in what language 'do you wish your garlands covered by a wreathed stone?' can signify 'do you wish to be covered by a stone and that stone wreathed with your garlands?' and what meaning he attaches to 35 'quid cineri ingrato seruas bene olentia

serta?' if death is not hinted at till 38. The construction of *Copa* 4 as 'excutiens cubitum ad raucos calamos' is rightly

explained and the position of the preposition well illustrated on *Culex* 92.

J. P. POSTGATE.

FRIEDLÄNDER'S *CENA TRIMALCHIONIS*.

Petronii Cena Trimalchionis, mit Deutscher Uebersetzung und erklärenden Anmerkungen, von L. FRIEDLÄNDER. Svo. 327 pp. 5 Mk.

PROFESSOR FRIEDLÄNDER has deepened the obligations which have endeared him to philologists by his latest work. The new edition of the *Banquet of Trimalchio* is worthy of the editor of Martial, and the author of the *Sitten-Geschichte*. As the general merits of the volume are mentioned by the present writer elsewhere (see *Academy* for March), it will only be necessary here to give a short sketch of its contents. These are (1) a chapter on the literary history of the *Cena*; (2) a letter in French by Leibnitz, written in February 1702, and describing a representation of *Trimalchio's Banquet* by the court of Hanover; (3) an account of the life of an Italian town under the Early Empire; (4) the text of the *Cena*, with the readings of the Trau MS. beneath and a German translation opposite the Latin text; (5) a commentary.

The execution of the work is throughout excellent. It is of course everywhere based on Bücheler's epoch-making edition of 1862; and the same eminent scholar has contributed to his friend's work many new views not hitherto published, particularly on the meaning of those extraordinary words such as *bacciballum*, *excatarissare* &c. which ever since the first publication of the fragment have engaged the attention of philologists.

The following remarks are offered as suggestions which have occurred to me in a very careful perusal of the work.

The strange word *tangomenas*, or as it is written in 73 *tango menas*, may I think be, not as generally supposed *τέγγει πνέιμονας* or rather an ignorant corruption of these words, but *τέγγωμεν ἴνας*. In any case I hold it to be the same word which in a curious medieval poem published in the *Neues Archiv für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* for 1890, p. 387, appears as *tendominas*. If this is so, it proves that the *Cena Trimalchionis*, of which, as a whole, only one fifteenth century copy exists, was read and used, though ignorantly, by a writer of the twelfth or thirteenth century. This fact, to

any one acquainted with the literary history of classical forgeries and the suspicions which the discovery of the Trau MS. gave rise to at its first appearance in the middle of the seventeenth century, will seem not unimportant. I know not whether it will interest any one to know that the Bodleian possesses a MS., Canonici Latin 224, written by one Petrus Cepio of Trau and dated 1438. Petrus Cepio... Delmaticus ex Tragurio absolui scribere Philippicas Tragurii nonis Decembris 1438. Possibly this is the same name as the Cippicus in whose library the Trau MS. of the *Cena* was discovered. At any rate it deserves inquiry. C. 38 *arietes culauit in gregem*, possibly *caulauit* introduced into the sheep-fold. *Est tamen sub alapa, et non uult sibi male* may mean 'the man however is a lick-spittle (parasite) with a sharp eye to his own interest.' So *alapus*. 42 *hey et hey* cannot be *heu heu*; if it is genuine, I suggest the meaning is 'what's done is done, bygones are bygones': so 44 *hey hey, quotidie peius*; where *heu heu* is equally improbable. *ib. sed antiquus amor cancer est* is explained by Friedländer 'a gangreen' or possibly 'has a tight grip like a crab's claw.' More probably 'is always retrograding like a crab.' It is to this sidelong and almost receding movement of the crab that proverbial expressions in which this creature figures most generally refer: so the witty saw in Athen. 695 *ὁ καρκίνος ὅδ' ἔφα χαλᾶ τὸν ὄφιν λαβών, Εὐθὺν χρή τὸν ἐταῖρον ἔμεν καὶ μὴ σκολιά φρονεῖν*. Macrobi. S. i. 17, 63 *cancer animal retro atque oblique cedit*. Avian. iii. 1 *Curua retro cedens dum fert uestigia cancer*. *manu uncta plena mensa* may be right: the ideas of greasy, fat, rich, as opposed to dry, famished, empty. Catullus says *caput unctius*: why should not Petronius say 'a greasy hand' (whether as steeped in unguents and essences or as constantly holding rich and unctuous morsels) for a liberal hand? c. 43 *noueram hominem olim oliorum* which Friedländer explains *seit olims Zeiten* ever so long ago, cannot be thought to be satisfactorily elucidated, as this interpretation does not well suit with the immediately following words *et adhuc salax erat*. And how can

oliorum as a gen. plural of an adjective formed from *oli* = *olli* = *ollim* be justified? My former conjecture *olorium* is not put out of the field by the words *niger tamquam coruus*: but *olim* would then seem to be a dittograph of *oliorum*, *noueram hominem oliorum* ^{oris} *oli m* or *oli m*, 'I knew the man when he was gray as a swan (*i.e.* at a later period of life), and even then he was lecherous as ever.' The Romans were fond of bird comparisons in this reference; so *aquilae senectus* Haut. iii. 2, 20: and if it is objected that *cygneus* would be a more proper adjective, I would quote Ausonius' *clarior olore (animus)*. c. 44 *iam animum esurio, fuit aediles male eueniat*. The present *esurio* seems idiomatic: if so, *fuit* may represent an interjection, *pfui*. *ib. in curia autem quo modo singulos uel pilabat tractabat*. I do not feel certain that the old conjecture of Reinesius *uelut pilas tractabat* is not right, except that *attractabat* or *attractabat* to which the MS. points is also superior as diction 'turned them in his fingers like balls.' c. 45 *sed laborat (patria) hoc tempore nec haec sua* might be construed 'but it is in a bad way at present, and is not, as we see it now, in its right mind': *haec* would then be emphasized 'this country as we see it to day.' c. 45 *adeo de magna turba adhebet acceperrant*. If Bücheler's conjecture *adhibete* is adopted, it would, I think, more naturally mean 'admit them' *i.e.* to the fight in the amphitheatre, 'from such an indiscriminate crowd they had received their warrant of admission.' But I confess to thinking the conjecture doubtful. c. 46 *dispare pallauit* possibly a conflation of *dispallauit*, *disparilauit*: the former might mean (*pala*) 'winnowed, frittered away,' the latter 'made unlike ordinary years.' c. 52 *Μάδεα, περιμάδεα*. To Ribbeck's reference to Theoc. ii. 16, where Medea and Perimede are mentioned together as witches, add Prop. ii. 4, 8 *non hic nocturna Cytæis Non Perimedeae gramina cocta manus*. c. 53 *reliqua animalia cromataricas meras esse*. It would seem that *acroama* was vulgarly pronounced and spelt *acroma*. Gloss. Balliol. *achromata scenicorum carmina. acromata auditio litarum uel tiliarum*. Heinsius conjectured for *animalia*, *anilia*. But the last *a* is part of *acroamata*, hence perhaps *animali* is a corruption rather of *anuum*. Or have the words got out of order, *reliqua acroamata anuum tricas meras esse*? *tricas* Heinsius Jacobs Bücheler. c. 56 *argentum sceleratum* a silvered (s)ham: play on *σκέλος* (*perna*) ham, and the meaning of 'bad' or 'naughty'

silver. *ib. homini mali isto et dignitosso*. Muncker's *maiesto* seems to me wrong. I should expect a slightly different form: possibly *maiuisto*. c. 58 *non cresco nisi dominum tuum in rutae folium non coniecit*. So *H. coniecero* Bücheler and Friedländer after Heinsius: perhaps *coniecero* would be nearer. c. 58 the explanation of *myfrios* is not convincing. The following passage is satisfactorily translated by Friedländer but why should not *aut numera mapalia, nemo dupondii euadet* be right as it is? The schoolmaster addressing his boys says: 'Have you all got your things in order? then (addressing a particular boy) off straight home: take care, no looking about you: take care you don't rail at your seniors. Or else, count the roadside hovels on the way: then, none of you will turn out a good-for-nothing,' *i.e.* you must not be seen lounging, or you will turn out a bad boy. I do not think any great stress is to be laid on *mapalia*; the master addresses a humble class of boys and speaks accordingly. c. 61 Forcellini's explanation of *apoculare* as a Latinism of ἀποκυλίων 'to bowl off' might have been mentioned. The symbol *tauitatau* (THT) ought to be discussed, not changed. Such suppression only encourages the once prevailing belief that the *Cena* is a forgery. If it is a symbol, to what order or religion did it belong? c. 64 *non moratus ille usus equo manumque plena scapulas eius subinde uerberauit*. Bücheler adds *et after usus*. I regard the sentence as another instance of anacoluthon—participle followed by *et* and a final verb. This seems to have been an idiom of common language. See my edition of Avianus' *Fables* p. xxxix. c. 65 *omnia habuimus praeter te: oculi enim mei hic erant*. 'My eyes were here,' mentally I was looking at you and the company here assembled. A true archaic touch like Propertius' *Cantabant surdo, nudabant pectora caeco. Lanuuii ad portas ei mihi solus eram. ib. de melle me usque tetigi*. Is this Latin? Perhaps Petronius wrote *de melle mel usque tetigi* 'of the cake I tasted not one bit; but I went on tasting mouthful after mouthful of the honey.' c. 66 *si ursus homuncionem comest, quanto magis homuncio debet ursum comesse*. A thoroughly *moderna* piece of humour! Everybody will recall instances. c. 68 *nam quod strabonus est non curo; sic ut Venus spectat. ideo nihil tacet uix oculo mortuo unquam*. Friedländer explains 'deshalb kann er nichts verschweigen, weil seine Augen immer offen sind.' Is it not rather a joke παρ' ἑπρόνοιαν 'this is why he never holds his tongue about anything—scarcely

ever with his dead eye even'? The joke lies in the incongruity of keeping silence, not with the lips, but (as might have been hoped) with the disabled eye.

It is impossible not to regret that the rest of Petronius' work has not been thought

worthy of a commentary like this on the *Cena*. But the moral objections which only partly affect the *Cena* may well have seemed to M. Friedländer too considerable to justify such a design.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

FARRAR'S *DARKNESS AND DAWN*.

Darkness and Dawn, or Scenes in the Days of Nero, an Historic Tale, by F. W. FARRAR. Longmans. 1891.

THE title of this work is explained in the preface to mean that, while it is to a considerable extent a work of imagination, 'the fiction is throughout controlled and dominated by historic facts,' and is intended to serve towards 'the illustration of a supreme and deeply interesting problem—the causes, namely, why a religion so humble in its origin and so feeble in its resources as Christianity won so majestic a victory over the power, the glory, and the intellect of the civilised world.'

The tale will therefore bring out many points of deep interest to students, and as a contribution to history should here be noticed.

The reader will gather that the chief solution of the problem above stated is to be found in the moral nobleness of the Christian ideal, presented as it was to an age sunk to the lowest depths of wickedness and profligacy; and therefore the two sides of the picture, the 'Darkness' and the 'Dawn,' are made to stand out in sharp and terrible contrast, by being displayed to us all through the book in more or less alternate scenes. On the former side we have the picture of Nero in his private and domestic life, and the series of enormities beginning from the murder of Claudius unfolded before us. The material is ample, and the narrative mainly a translation, paraphrase, or expansion of Tacitus, supplemented by other historians of the period, and by Seneca, Martial, Juvenal. In a book for general readers much of the worst has to be indicated rather than described; otherwise the colour is laid on with a somewhat unsparing hand—the facts, though certainly not invented, having hardly been critically sifted, and charges which even Tacitus leaves doubtful being sometimes assumed as certain. The reader is allowed however to set off against the Neronian orgies the better side of Paganism, in the

frugal simplicity of the household of Vespassian, the gentleness, humanity and genuine love of goodness, however marred by pliability and time-serving, of Seneca, and the nobler spirits, as Epictetus, Thræsea, and Soranus, whose Stoicism was a religious consolation and a rule of life.

In the Christian scenes, the author has necessarily to draw less from history and more from imagination; though here too he is on firm ground in describing their rule of life, bonds of brotherhood, signs of recognition, simple ministry and ritual; and several names are supplied by the salutations of St. Paul, or by other early Christian record. We meet thus with Pudens and Claudia, Linus, Cletus and Hermas, Urban, Tryphaena and Tryphosa; and a bold attempt is made to enable us to realise the irresistible influence of the great apostle of the Gentiles, and in a lesser degree that of St. Peter and St. John, and the martyrdoms of the saints are made to show the true ideal of heroism, to which the end of even a Seneca or a Thræsea was unable to attain.

The points of contact between the Roman and the Christian world are necessarily far more uncertain. That the 'foreign superstition' laid to the charge of the high-born Pomponia Graecina was the Christian faith, is a supposition certainly rendered probable by the recorded austerity of her life, and by Christian inscriptions, some three or four generations later, to persons of her name and family. That Flavius Clemens, who can hardly be doubted to have suffered as a Christian under Domitian, had already embraced this faith in his youth, is fully possible. The Christianity of Acte, though resting on no substantial evidence, has been a favourite idea with several writers. In taking the bold further step of representing Britannicus as partially, and Octavia as altogether Christian, it is doubtless Dr. Farrar's purpose to show the consolations which the faith would have given to a destiny so utterly forlorn; as the interviews of Pomponia with Agrippina and Poppæa are meant to show the homage extorted at

a time of misery and suffering from those whose lives had been steeped in crime.

The fact that the runaway slave of Philemon is one of the prominent persons in the story necessarily suggests a comparison with the 'Onesimus' of the author of 'Philochristus' (Macmillan 1882). The conception of character, and nearly all the scenes in the two works are very different; and although in both narratives he is at one time the inmate of an 'ergastulum,' and at another the attendant on a wandering priest, or troop of priests, of the Syrian goddess, even in these details are sufficiently unlike to bear out Dr. Farrar's statement, that from no previous work dealing with the epoch has he 'consciously borrowed even the smallest hint,' while not excluding the possibility of an unconscious suggestion, the source of which had been forgotten subsequently.

The great persecution is of course the crowning incident of the tale. Here Dr. Farrar accepts the whole narrative as it stands in Tacitus or in other apparent allusions to it; shaping the description so as to suggest a solution of such difficulties as the alleged betrayal of Christians by their brethren, and the much-vexed *Δαυαίδες καὶ Δίпкаι* of Clem. Cor. § 6, and even so far accepting the 'multitudo ingens' of Tacitus as to make the final holocaust, after other forms of martyrdom had been exhausted, consist of at least a thousand victims.

Without necessarily accepting the solution offered by the tale for these and other difficulties, it may be commended, as a representation possible in its circumstances, and in the condition of the Roman world and its ruler at that date, to the consideration of those who have regarded the narrative either as wholly a fiction, or as needing to be pared down to comparatively insignificant dimensions.

Some errors of detail may here be pointed out for correction in future editions of the work.

1. Tiberius received no divine honours, being neither deified after death like Augustus and others, nor worshipped in life like Gaius (i. 9).

2. The statement that Claudius went just before his death to Sinuessa (i. 27)

rests on what must apparently be a corruption of the text of Tacitus.

3. The third of the 'tres vomicae' of Augustus, besides the two Juliae, was Agrippa Postumus, not Scribonia (i. 161).

4. The statement that six of the emperors from Galba to Trajan died violent deaths (i. 202) seems to require modification.

5. Domitia is wrongly called Domitia Lepida (i. 252). The latter had been put to death before Nero's accession.

6. Suillius Nerulinus is confused (i. 254) with his father P. Suillius Rufus.

7. The person called 'the golden sheep' by Gaius is given rightly in ii. 268 as M. Silanus, but also wrongly in i. 275 as Rubellius Plautus.

8. Bauli was between Misenum and Baiae, not between Baiae and the Lucrine (ii. 11).

9. For the name 'Junius,' borne by all the Silani, the praenomen Marcus should be substituted (ii. 24).

10. In saying that, at the death of Burrus, Nero might have made Corbulo 'praefectus praetorii' (ii. 112), it seems to be forgotten that not only was his presence then most needful in the East, but also that this praefectura had always been an essentially equestrian office, the only apparent exception being that Sejanus, who had long held it as a knight, continued to hold it in the last year of his life as a senator and consul.

11. Julia, the granddaughter of Augustus, banished by him to Trimerus, is confused (ii. 131) with Julia, daughter of Germanicus, banished, probably to Pandateria, by Claudius.

12. The praetorians and the German guard appear to be confused (ii. 171).

13. Poppaea, instead of being at her death 'little more than girl' (ii. 265), could hardly have been less than thirty-five, as her father had perished with Sejanus.

14. Vindex is hardly accurately described as 'propraetor of Gaul' (ii. 299), nor were those whom he induced to join him 'legionaries' (300), but Gallic militia.

15. The attitude of Verginius, Clodius Macer, and Vespasian, in the last days of Nero, requires to be stated more accurately.

H. FURNEAUX.

Scholia in Euripidem. Ed. EDUARDUS SCHWARTZ. Vol. II. Berlin, G. Reimer, 1891. Price 9 Marks.

THE first volume of this work, containing the scholia to the *Hecuba*, *Orestes* and *Phoenissae*, ap-

peared in 1887, and was duly noticed by Mr. Bury in the *Classical Review*, vol. i. pp. 272, 273. The second and concluding volume deals with the *Hippolytus*, *Medea*, *Alceste*, *Andromache*, *Rhesus* and *Troades*, the other ten extant plays of Euripides

being destitute of scholia. It is not enough to say that the work thus completed is far superior to the edition of Dindorf, it is a model at once of scholarship and practical convenience.

In the volume now before us the editor has used two important MSS., besides those known to Dindorf. Both of these were, I believe, discovered by Schwartz himself, though he makes no such claim in his preface. One, now in Naples, contains, besides a great variety of other matter, scholia to the *Hippolytus* and the *Andromache*, very valuable for the former. The other, now in the Vatican, contains valuable scholia to the *Andromache*, and valueless ones to the *Heubea*. Another new Naples MS. has been of service for the *Troades*. The actually new matter thus acquired, though small in amount, includes several points of considerable interest, and the old matter is now presented in a much more intelligible form than ever before. For this, a portion of our gratitude is due to Wilamowitz, whose name appears in the critical apparatus of almost every page.

The volume concludes with several admirable indexes, intended to help us to find with ease the precious nuggets of information hidden away in this 'vasta et tenebrosa scholiorum moles,' as the editor calls it. Here again, the improvement over Dindorf is great. One is guided at once, not merely to the citations of authors and the comments on places and persons, but also to the literary criticism, the grammatical and rhetorical observations, the comments on scenic arrangements and actors' methods—in short, to every subject on which the scholia touch. Moreover the critical apparatus is studded with instructive quotations from various sources, lexical and other. Altogether, it is impossible to praise the book too highly.

F. B. TARBELL.

Euripides, Cyclops. Edited with Introduction and Notes by W. E. LONG, M.A. Oxford, Clarendon Press.

THIS edition has an interesting introduction, with some good quotations from Miss Harrison's *Myths of the Odyssey*. Judgment and scholarship are shown in the selection of readings and interpretations, though nothing new is propounded under either of these heads.

At p. 19 of the introduction the editor says that Mr. T. W. Allen has collated for him the two MSS. on which the text of the *Cyclops* rests. Nothing, however, has been done by Mr. Long, beyond the printing of a few selections from the MSS. in an Appendix, to make these collations of any use to his readers. A large proportion of the notes indeed are critical, but always start with such vague phrases as 'the MSS.,' 'all the MSS.,' 'the best MSS.,' 'the old reading' (at l. 43 'the Florentine MSS.,' as if there were more than one Florentine MS. in question). Between vv. 244 and 351 we still hear of 'the MSS.,' though in the Vatican MS. this passage is omitted. To take particular instances: on v. 50 the note is: 'ὄντ' is the MS. reading; we must read ὀδδ'.' Now v. 50 is contained in the selections in the Appendix, and no ὄντ' is to be found there in either MS. At v. 60, also in the selected passages, all we are told is: 'The Aldine reads ἀμφιβαλεῖς.' Surely here if ever we ought to start with Mr. Allen's collations; for, as recorded on pp. 48 and 50, they contradict all previous authorities. (Wilamowitz e.g. says both MSS. have ἀμφιβαίνει, while Mr. Allen gives ἀμφιβαλεῖν from one and ἀμφιβαίνει from the other.) At v. 148 again we are told that 'δ' is the reading of the best MSS.,' but 'has been altered to γε, as being too strongly adversative.' The fact is that both the Vat. and

Laur. MS. (and Aldus) read γ' and that δ' is a correction found in the two Paris copies of the Laurentian MS. which were collated by Musgrave.

I have enlarged on these points because I believe that critical notes are of no use for any kind of readers unless they start with an exact record of the best tradition. If this principle is sound it follows that this edition, though the work of a scholar, and exceptionally free from typographical or other blunders, contains a large amount of useless matter.

E. B. ENGLAND.

Berliner Studien für classische Philologie und Archæologie. Zwölfter Band. Drittes Heft. Zenonis Citiensis de rebus physicis doctrinae fundamentum ex adjectis fragmentis constituit KARL TROOST. Berlin: Calvary. 1891. pp. iv. 88. 3 M.

THIS book will be found to contain a useful summary of the physical doctrines of Zeno, with the original authorities on which it is founded printed in full at the bottom of each page. Troost does not appear to have discovered any fresh passage in which Zeno is expressly referred to, but he endeavours to enlarge our material by the ascription to Zeno, on more or less probable grounds, of several passages which though undoubtedly Stoic are not directly attributed to him. The most important of these is Sext. Emp. *Math.* ix. 75-87, for which a fairly strong case is made out. An earlier passage in the same book (§ 26) is referred to Zeno for very inadequate reasons: its substance had been traced back to Cleanthes by Mr. Bywater (*Journ. Phil.* vii. 76). Besides these I have noticed Cic. *N.D.* ii. 29, 30, Sen. *N.Q.* vi. 16, 1, Sext. Emp. *Math.* vii. 240, and Achill. Tat. *Isag.* C. 14, G. 134. Although the language of these extracts is not at variance with what we know of Zeno's teaching, I do not think that the proof is, as regards any of them, conclusive: for example, it does not follow, because Zeno first taught the distinction between *ἐἷς φύσις* and *ψυχή*, that therefore a passage containing this distinction is necessarily Zenonian. The most important chapter in Troost's exposition will be found at pp. 46-60, in which he discusses the Stoic account of the origin of the world and the so-called *κρῆσις δι' ὅλου*. The latter he interprets as an expression of the law of movement everywhere apparent in the universe, which is permeated by and filled with the divine essence. The only necessary properties of *σῶμα* are, according to Zeno, its eternity and its incapacity for increase or diminution. When *σῶμα* is defined as *τὸ τριχῇ διαστατόν* (Diog. L. vii. 135), this is true not of *σῶμα* in itself but only of *τὸ πᾶν*, which is subject to change and decay. Hence the doctrine of *ἀντιπαράστασις*, as developed by Chrysippus and the later Stoics, is not relevant to Zeno's theory of motion, which is the 'cardo' of his system. Troost next attempts to remove a difficulty in the account of the cosmogony (Stob. *Ecl.* i. 17, 3, p. 152, 19) by suggesting that the æry and fluid stages through which the divine substance passes before the generation of the four elements are not to be confounded with air and water as elements. This is connected with the various grades of *πνεῦμα* and the *ἡγεμονικόν*, the latter term being confined to men, animals, and plants. *πνεῦμα* itself is characterized under various aspects by warmth, breath, and fluidity. Hence it would appear that some existences retain the qualities impressed by the progression of the divine nature through the three ante-elemental periods of fire, air, and water. These views deserve careful consideration, but the method of proof leaves something to be desired. In fact, throughout the book there

are not a few instances where a doubtful inference is drawn from certain evidence, and then this inference itself is made the foundation for fresh deductions. It remains to notice some points, on which I am unable to accept Troost's conclusions. At p. 7 the strange argument is used that because Cleanthes wrote a treatise called *ὑπομνήματα φυσικά*, and also adhered in most matters to Zeno's teaching, therefore the *ὑπομνηματεύματα* of Zeno must be a physical work. On p. 15 the relation of *πῶσις* to *ἐννόημα* is co-ordinated with that of *πῶσις* to *συμβεβηκός* and of *σῶμα* to *κατηγόρημα*. But there is no evidence that Zeno used the word *πῶσις* at all, since in Stob. *Ecl.* i. 12. 3, p. 136 the distinction between *πῶσις* and *ἐννόημα* is attributed generally to *οἱ στωικοὶ φιλόσοφοι*. Still less is there any proof that *πῶσις* can mean '*singula ipsa res*'; on the contrary, it is always incorporeal, and is closely related in meaning to *λεκτόν* and *κατηγόρημα*: cf. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* viii. 9. 26 ἡ *πῶσις* δὲ *ἀσώματος* εἶναι ὁμολογεῖται. Finally, Troost holds that Zeno identified God with the Cosmos, and that his doctrine was therefore pantheistic (pp. 32-38), but he finds an inconsistency with this in the account of the *ἐκπόρωσις*, as implying the destruction of the Cosmos. If so, the inconsistency belongs to Stoicism in general and not to Zeno in particular: but the difficulty disappears when we remember the important passage in Diog. L. vii. 137, 138 λέγουσι δὲ κόσμον τριχῶς αὐτὸν τε τὸν θεόν, τὸν ἐκ τῆς πάσης οὐσίας ἰδίως ποίον, ὃς δὲ ἀθάνατός ἐστι καὶ ἀγέννητος, δημιουργὸς ὢν τῆς διακοσμήσεως, κατὰ χρόνων ποίᾳ περιόδου, ἀναλίσκων εἰς αὐτὸν τὴν ἅπασαν οὐσίαν, καὶ πάλιν ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεννῶν. καὶ αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν διακόσμησιν τῶν ἀστέρων κόσμον εἶναι λέγουσι καὶ τρίτον τὸ συνεστῆκός ἐξ ἀμφοῖν κ.τ.λ. However, it has not been proved that Zeno identified God and Matter; for, while there is no passage which distinctly attributes to him this identification, there are several where Zeno is stated to have affirmed the separate existence of two *ἀρχαί* (see Stein, *Psychologie der Stoa* p. 63). Especially important is Tertull. *ad. nat.* ii. 4: *ecce enim Zeno quoque materiam mundalem a deo separat* etc. Moreover, it is surely significant that Cicero in his summary of Stoic theology (*N.D.* i. 36-41) declares expressly of Cleanthes and Chrysippus *ipsium mundum deum esse* but says nothing of the kind in regard to Zeno.

A. C. PEARSON.

De Q. Aurelii Symmachi studiis Graecis et Latinis scripsit GUILIELMUS KROLL, DR. PHIL., Vratislaviae, 1891. 8vo., pp. 98.

THIS treatise forms one of the series of *Breslauer philologische Abhandlungen*, now appearing under the editorship of Professor Rich. Förster. Its object is to trace the erudition of Symmachus to its sources; to ascertain what authors, Greek or Latin, he had probably read. The inquiry is carried out very methodically. After a preface, giving a short account of Symmachus, his pursuits and literary friends, we have (1) his studies of Greek authors investigated, under the headings of subject-matter and style, and (2) the same process repeated for Latin authors. This is followed by a list of archaisms, and the work ends with a conspectus of 'Imitationes Auctorum,' ranging from Naevius and Plautus to Fronto, Aulus Gellius and Ausonius.

Symmachus has of late years received a good deal of attention from German scholars. When the sixtieth birthday of Theodor Mommsen was celebrated by his friends in 1877, one essay in the volume of *Commentationes* with which they presented the veteran historian was on the *Reden des Symmachus*. Its author, Otto Seeck, not long after brought out an

elaborate edition of Symmachus. Two years later still, in 1885, the *Quaestiones Symmachianae* of Koren was sharply criticized by Schulze in the Halle *Dissertationes philologicae* (vol. vi. pars i. p. 111).

Dr. Kroll, in the monograph before us, pursues his investigation with care and ability, and shows, what the nature of the subject demanded, a wide extent of reading. In many cases his task is an easy one. It requires no great penetration, for instance, to discern (p. 46) the reference to Verg. *Aen.* i. 737 in *audisti omnia, sed summo tenuis ore libata*. The difficulty is to produce a like feeling of conviction, when a sentence or turn of expression, assigned to one particular author as its source, is of a general or proverbial character. Thus (p. 53) the origin of *verso igitur stilo gratum fateor* is sought, naturally enough, in the *supra stilum veritas* of Horace. But why may not Symmachus have seen it first in Cicero (*in Verr.* iv. 41), *verit stilum in tabulis suis*; or, for that matter, in half a dozen other places? In fact, the author himself has often to admit the doubtfulness of a reference. Where Schulze, for example (p. 81), would confidently assign the expression *ad calculos vocare* to a study of Livy, Dr. Kroll prefers to trace it to Cic. *de Amic.* c. lviii. We may perhaps be allowed to illustrate this need of cautious limitation by referring to an interesting essay on Symmachus' son-in-law Boethius by Mr. Hugh Fraser Stewart (1891). As Chaucer translated the *De Consolatione*, it is natural to seek for allusions to Boethius in other parts of his writings. Mr. Stewart has given a full list of these (pp. 260-270). But when one of them is observed to be the familiar emblem of Fortune's wheel (*Knights Tale*, 67), we are tempted to ask why Chaucer may not just as well have got this from Petrarch's *De remediis utriusque fortunae*. In the preface to that work, Fortune is described as one who *attollit ac deiecit et in gyrum rotat*, and the frontispiece to the edition of 1649 appropriately represents the fickle goddess as being lashed by the *Sapiens* to her own wheel. Palladas (*Anthol. Pal.* ii. p. 304) had the same thought a century before Boethius.

We have spoken of the care with which Dr. Kroll's task is executed. We may add that this extends to the printing, which is very correct.

J. H. LUPTON.

Otto Cuntz: *Agrippa und Augustus als Quellenschriftsteller des Plinius in den geographischen Buchern de naturalis historiae*. Leipzig: 1890.

THIS is a reprint from the seventeenth supplementary volume of the *Jahrbücher für Klassische Philologie* and forms the continuation of a Dissertation published at Bonn in 1888 by the same author—'de Augusto Plinii geographicorum auctore.' In the latter essay however Dr. Cuntz limited himself to Pliny's geographical notices respecting Spain, Gallia Narbonensis, Italy, Illyrium, Sicily and Africa, and he now pursues the same investigations in regard to the central and oriental provinces. The author's main contentions are: (1) that Pliny in compiling the geographical portions of his work had before him some official statistics, probably intended for census purposes. Such an assumption, in addition to its *a priori* probability, best explains the fact that in geographical lists he usually follows the alphabetical order of names, as a rule gives ethnic appellations, and adds the legal status (*i.e.* whether colony, *municipium*, etc.) of the civitates mentioned: (2) the statistics so employed were probably those contained in the *Commentaries* commenced by Agrippa and continued after his death by Augustus. That Pliny did make use of Augustus

for his description of Italy, he expressly tells us himself (*h. n.* iii. § 46), while Agrippa is cited vi. § 39 and iii. § 8 as well as in other places. That he may have supplemented the information drawn from these sources by other occasional authorities or from personal knowledge is not unlikely, but as a rule ancient authors were apt to depend mainly on some one authority, when a suitable one existed, and the fact that the criteria above mentioned are found, though not invariably, throughout the whole of Pliny's work, makes it extremely probable that he was no exception to this rule. But naturally Dr. Cuntz is not satisfied with any such general probability as this. He had already in his previous dissertation found internal evidence to show that the statistics on which Pliny depended for Italy, Illyricum and Paunonia were compiled between 9 B.C. and the end of Augustus' reign, while those for Spain, Africa and Gallia Narbonensis seemed to point equally to the time of Augustus, though the earliest dates in these three provinces were respectively 19, 25, and 27 B.C. In the book before us confirmatory results are obtained for the other provinces of the empire. Of these only one or two of the most striking can be here given. In the list of Syrian communities given in *Plin. h. n.* v. §§ 81-82, where the names are in alphabetical order, the Hemeseni in Coele Syria are given as a town community and not as a tetrarchy. But the family of Sampsigeranus reigned as tetrarchs in Hemesa from the time of Pompeius to the reign of Domitian, the only interval during which the land formed a part of the province being between 31 and 20 B.C. (see *Dion Cass.* 50, 13, and 54, 9). Again in v. § 74 the tetrarchy of Trachonitis is omitted from

the alphabetical list, but added, no doubt by Pliny himself, at the head of the list, and since Trachonitis existed as a tetrarchy from 4 A.C. till after the death of Pliny, there is a strong probability that the alphabetical list belongs to some authority earlier than 4 A.C. To this it may be added that Pliny's use of the term Coele Syria, while it agrees with the official meaning of the term at the date of Pompeius (*App. Mith.* 108 and 118), differs from the meaning which it bears in Strabo (16, 749) and in Josephus (*A. J.* 15, 3, 8). In Cilicia again Eleusa on the coast of Cilicia Aspera is given by Pliny (v. § 93) as a provincial town. It was so however only between 25 and 20 B.C. since the whole of this district was given by Augustus to Amyntas of Galatia (*Strab.* 14, 671) who died in 25 B.C., while in 20 B.C. it was given to Archelaus of Cappadocia (*Dion Cass.* 54, 9) and not till 74 A.D. was it made a part of the Roman province. On the whole, the statements relating to Syria, Cilicia and Galatia certainly, and Asia, Bithynia and Macedonia probably, point to a somewhat earlier date in the reign of Augustus than the other provinces, and Dr. Cuntz, not without much probability, explains this by supposing that the *Commentaries* of Agrippa included only the Oriental provinces, while it was the later completion of the work by Augustus (*h. n.* iii. 17) which took in the western and central parts of the empire. The few examples of Dr. Cuntz's arguments, to which, did space permit, many more might be added, will perhaps show that the book is marked by a thorough knowledge of the authorities; and it may be added that, though dealing with a somewhat special subject, it is well worth reading.

E. G. HARDY.

THE ADVICE OF POLONIUS TO LAERTES.

There; my blessing with thee!
And these few precepts in thy memory
See thou character. Give thy thoughts no
tongue,
Nor any unproportioned thought his act.
Be thou familiar, but by no means vulgar.
Those friends thou hast, and their adoption
tried,
Grapple them to thy soul with hoops of
steel;
But do not dull thy palm with entertainment
Of each new-hatch'd, unfledged comrade.
Beware
Of entrance to a quarrel, but being in,
Bear't that the opposed may beware of thee.
Give every man thy ear, but few thy voice;
Take each man's censure, but reserve thy
judgment.
Costly thy habit as thy purse can buy,
But not express'd in fancy; rich, not
gaudy;
For the apparel oft proclaims the man.
Neither a borrower nor a lender be;
For loan oft loses both itself and friend,
And borrowing dulls the edge of husbandry.
This above all: to thine ownself be true,
And it must follow, as the night the day,
Thou canst not then be false to any man.

SHAKESPEARE.

ΘΕΟΓΝΙΔΟΣ ΓΝΩΜΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΠΡΟΣ ΚΥΡΝΟΝ.

ἀλλ' ἄγ', ὄναιο μολών, καὶ ἐμοὶ σφρηγὶς ἐπικεῖσθω
τοῖσδ' ἔπεισι, δέλτοις δ' ἔγγραφε, Κύρνε,
φρενών.
γλώσσην νοῦν ἔχμεν κρυπτόν, λόγον ἐν φρεσὶν
ἴσχειν,
μηδ' ἔρδων ὃ τι μὴ μέτριον ἢ νοέειν.
καὶ δὴ καὶ φίλος εἶναι, ἅπασι δὲ μὴ φίλος εἶναι,
ἀστεμφέως δ' ἐτάρων νωλεμέως τ' ἔχειο
ὡς σφίγγων ἀλύσεισι σιδηρῆς, οὓς ἂν ἐτάσσης
χρησάμενος πιστοῖς τριβομένοισι βασιάνῃ,
φεύγε νεῖλυνδ' ἄπειρον, ὅπως ἀπτήνα νεοσσόν,
μὴ τι διαφθείρης χεῖρ' ὀρέγων θαμάκισ.
φεύγε διχοστασίας μὲν, ὅταν δ' ἐς δῆρην ἵκηαι,
δρῆσον ὅπως ταρβῇ σ' ὅστις ἂν ἅτα μόλη.
παύροις μὲν γλώσσαν παρέχεν πολλοῖσι δ'
ἄκουσιν,
σὴν γνώμην κατέχειν, ἀλλόθροον συνεῖν.
ὡς μὲν ἔχεις πλούτου τιμῆστατα, μὴ τρυφερῇ δὲ
πύκν' ἀσκητῇ χλιδῇ, εἴματα καλὰ φόρει.
πολλὰ τὸν ἄνδρ' ὃ χιτῶν μαρτύρεται οἷος ἂν ἦ τις,
φάρος ὃ ποικίλων ποικίλος αὐτὸς ἔφν.
φεύγε τόκων πρῆξιν χρειῶν τ' ὀλοφώων ἄχθος,
μηδὲ δανείζων ζῇ μηδὲ δανειζόμενος·
ὡς οἰκοφελίη ἀμβλύνεται ὅς κε λάβησι,
καὶ θάμ' ὃ δοὺς δάνεος βλάπτεται ἢ δὲ φίλου.
πάσα δὲ συλλήβδην ἀρετὴ σ' αὐτὸν σὲ σέβεισθαι,
κοῦ μὴ τοῦτ' ἔρδων εἰς ἑτέρους ἀσεβῆς.

R. Y. TYRRELL.

NOTES.

THUCYDIDES II. 11, 4. Πολλὰ κίς τὸ ἔλασσον πλῆθος δεδιδὸς ἄμεινον ἡμίνατο τοὺς πλείους κ.τ.λ. In his recent edition of the second book of Thucydides (appendix ii. pp. 247—9) Mr. Marchant discusses this passage and my note upon it in these columns (*Classical Review* v. 66). Mr. Marchant says that my remarks would be quite convincing if (1) δέος ἄμεινον were applied to the stronger instead of the weaker side, and (2) if δεδιδὸς applied to past time relatively to ἡμίνατο. 'In reality (he adds) the literal rendering of the sentence can be nothing but this:—the smaller numbers, while or through being apprehensive, have better repelled greater numbers... In my opinion, Mr. Haverfield, like commentators in general, forces a meaning into the Greek which is not to be found there.' The concluding sentence is amusing, seeing that it is applied by a commentator to one who has never written a commentary and who has, for six summers, read Thucydides with a sixth form with as little commentary as could possibly be managed. However, as to the two objections brought forward by Mr. Marchant, I can only say that (1) the 'caution' seems to me to be applied to neither party in particular. The need of caution is emphasized by the remark that it has often given victory even to the weaker forces when the stronger were incautious. 'It may do so again: we, though the stronger, must not neglect this important weapon of defence.' As to the second point, I can only repeat that I can see no difficulty in it. The perfect implies here, as elsewhere, a state, and is not exactly a present. Παρασκευασμένος ἡμίνατο is different from παρασκευασάμενος ἡμ.; but it is also different from παρασκευαζόμενος ἡμ.

Now that I have mentioned Mr. Marchant's edition, I should like to ask him to weigh once more the evidence for the assertion that Thucydides deliberately employed the older alphabet. He did not write his history till the war was a little way on, probably not till it was almost over, and the newer alphabet had been customary in Athens, as private inscriptions seem to show, since at least the middle of the fifth century. Mr. Marchant says that certain things take us back to the Attic of Tragedy. But Euripides in his *Thesus*—probably not one of his later compositions—explains the name Θησεύς for the benefit of an ignorant man and does so in such a way as to show that certainly the η was in Tragic use, and, though this may not imply that ω also was, it leaves us rather in uncertainty if it does not. (Blass in Iwan Müller's *Handbuch* I. p. 303, ed. 2.)

F. HAVERFIELD.

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ARISTOTLE'S CONSTITUTION OF ATHENS. C. 35.

Οἱ μὲν οὖν τριάκοντα τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον κατέστησαν ἐπὶ Πυθοδώρου ἔρχοντος. γενόμενοι δὲ κύριοι τῆς πόλεως, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τὰ δέξαντα περὶ τῆς πολιτείας παρεώρων, πεντακοσίους δὲ βουλευτὰς καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς κατέστησαν ἐκ τῶν χιλίων, καὶ προσελέμενοι σφίσι αὐτοῖς.....κατεῖχον τὴν πόλιν δι' ἑαυτῶν.

On this the editor observes:—'There is no other mention of a body of 1000 and it is possible that the phrase is merely exegetic of ἐκ προκρίτων, indicating that a list of 1000 persons was first drawn up from which the 500 members of the council were finally selected.' Now this seems to me quite impossible, as κατέστησαντες ἐκ προκρίτων ἐκ τῶν χιλίων is a regular formula, and can have no

other meaning except that the persons appointed were selected, whether by lot or otherwise, from a list previously nominated from the whole body of those eligible for the offices in question, which in this case, according to the text, would be 1000. It would follow then that, as after the fall of the Four Hundred the citizens who had a share in the constitution were the πεντακισχίλιοι οἱ ἐκ τῶν ὅλων (see c. 33), so now under the Thirty there was a body of 1000 only who were in the same position. But this is clearly absurd in itself, and if it had been so Aristotle would certainly have mentioned it before. On the contrary he gives no information as to the constitution the Thirty were directed to organize, because, as he says, they omitted to do so altogether.

Xenophon, *Hel.* 2, 3, 11 says of the Thirty:

Αἰρεθέντες δ' ἐφ' ᾧτε συγγράφαι νόμους καθ' οὓσιν τινες πολιτεύσονται τοῦτους μὲν αἰεὶ ἐμελλον συγγράφειν τε καὶ ἀποδεικνύναι, βουλὴν δὲ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς κατέστησαν ὡς ἔδοκε αὐτοῖς.

He says, just as Aristotle does, that they made no attempt to draw up a constitution, but that they appointed a senate and magistrates as they saw fit, which I take to mean that they simply nominated them without any form of election, as there was no body of electors in existence from whom they could be selected. I conclude then that the clause about the χιλίων has no business here whatever, and that Aristotle made no mention of the appointment of a senate or magistrates because they were mere dummies, while the whole administration was in the hands of the Thirty, who constituted what in c. 36 is properly called a *δυναστεία*.

I would propose therefore to strike out the passage altogether, reading of course προσελέμενοι δὲ for καὶ προσελέμενοι, and to insert it after the word μισθοφόρων in c. 33, reading πεντακισχίλιων for χιλίων.

This seems to me confirmed by what follows in c. 36, where it is said of the Thirty καταλέγουσιν τῶν πολιτῶν δις χιλίους ὡς μεταδώσαντες τῆς πολιτείας, on which the editor observes 'Δις χιλίους MS., but this must be a mere clerical error for τρις χιλίους unless we are to consider the 2000 in addition to the 1000 mentioned in c. 35. This however is hardly probable, as Aristotle would almost certainly have explained it, if it had been the case, instead of immediately going on to speak of the force (*sic*) as 3000 in number.'

Quite so, but then it is no clerical error, but has clearly arisen from the χιλίοι in c. 35 being understood to be those in possession of civil rights, to which it was supposed 1000 were added to make up the 3000, whereas Aristotle no doubt means, as the editor properly observes, that there was no body of electors previously existing, but that the Thirty now for the first time proposed to draw up a list of 3000.

I conceive then the passage about the χιλίοι to be an old blunder or corruption which our scribe found in his text, and which had led to the further corruption of δις χιλίοι for τρις χιλίοι, for which however not he but his copy was responsible.

HARBERTON.

* *

DEMOSTHENES, *Androtion*, p. 606, § 44: ὅμιν παρὰ τὰς εἰσφοράς τὰς ἀπὸ Ναυονίκου, παρ' ἴσως τάλαντα τριακόσι' ἢ μικρὸν πλείω, ἔλλειμμα τέτταρα καὶ δέκ' ἐστὶ τάλαντα, ὧν ἑπτὰ οὗτος εἰσέπραξεν, ἐγὼ δὲ τῆσμι' ἅπαντα.

THE natural interpretation of this passage is, surely, that the sums raised by the various εἰσφοραί since the Archonship of Nausinicus, that is, during the last twenty-three years (478 B.C.—455 B.C.) amounted to 300 talents. The use of the plural, εἰσφοραί, and the preposition ἀπὸ render it impossible, I think, to understand the expression of one εἰσφορά only, viz. that in the Archonship of Nausinicus (see *Class. Rev.* i. 78); to say nothing of the fact that we see no reason (as Grote remarks, *History of Greece*, vol. ix. p. 333) why Androcton should have selected the defaulters of this particular year and ignored those who had failed to pay upon more recent occasions. The sum (300 talents) given in the text will however in that case be very much too small, as Boeckh and other have long ago observed.

Now Demosthenes tells us (*c. Aphob.* 1, p. 816, § 9, and p. 825, § 37) that his guardians paid on his behalf 18 minae in 10 years upon a taxable property of 3 talents (see *Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, s.v. εἰσφορά). It is usually assumed that these 10 years coincide with the first 10 years of the 23 under consideration, but in any case the few months by which the death of Demosthenes' father may have preceded the introduction of the new system cannot seriously affect our calculations. No doubt the εἰσφορά was an irregular tax; yet we may, I think, fairly take for granted that, given the sum collected during the first 10 years, the sum collected during the whole 23 will be approximately $\frac{23}{10}$ as much. Now we know from Demosthenes (*De Symmor.* p. 183, § 19) that the taxable capital of the country at this time amounted to 6,000 talents, and Polybius (2, 62, § 7) gives it more precisely as 5,750 talents (quoted in *Dict. of Antiquities*). If then Demosthenes paid 18 minae upon 3 talents, or $\frac{1}{10}$, in 10 years, we should expect the sum total raised in Athens in 23 years to amount to $\frac{23}{10} \times \frac{1}{10}$ of the whole taxable property, or $\frac{23}{100} \times 5,750$ talents, that is, 1,322½ talents.

To make our text tally with this conclusion, the introduction of a single letter only is necessary: by reading τάλαντα α' for τάλαντα τ', we get the exact sum required, thirteen hundred talents or a few more; and nothing, I submit, would be more likely to happen than the omission of α between τάλαντα and τ'.

J. R. WARDALE.

* * *

PLAUTUS *Cas.* 523-4.

Sed facito dum, merula per vorstis quod cantat, colas
'cibo
cum suo, cum quiqui' facito ut veniant, quasi cant
Sutrium.

Lysidamus is urging Alcesimus to send off his servants without any loss of time, and says "but see that you follow what the blackbird sings in its stave, see that they come 'food or no food,' as if they were marching to Sutrium." This is the reading naturally suggested by the text of the Palatine MSS. of Plautus (the Ambrosian palimpsest is not available for this passage),

sed facito dum merui apervorsus quos cantat colas cum
cibo

cum quiqui facito ut veniant quasi cant Sutrium,
and by the Naples MS. of Festus (p. 450 Thewr.) where the lines are quoted in this form:

sed facito dum merula per versus quod cantat colas
cum suo cuique facito veniant quasi cant Sutrium.
The only difficulty about it is the scansion *colās*, and that difficulty is not insuperable.

Prof. Sonnenschein in discussing Schoell's treatment

of this passage (*Class. Rev.* July 1891, p. 323) says: 'But is the word *merula* itself certain enough to form the basis of emendation? The blackbird is hardly likely to have known anything about Sutrium.' It seems to me that the blackbird is securely caged in the passage by the double authority of the MSS. of Plautus and of Festus. But I do not think that the bird is credited with any knowledge of Sutrium. Festus explains the proverb *quasi cant Sutrium* as referring to an emergency in a *Gallicus tumultus* when the legions were ordered *Sutrii ut praesto essent cum cibo suo*. The note of the blackbird (*i.e.* its alarm note, not its regular song) was probably interpreted by Roman children as *cum cibo cum quiqui*, 'with food with anything' 'with food or with anything you can lay your hands on,' just as English children interpret the yellow-hammer's song into 'a little bit of bread and no cheese,' and Lysidamus says to Alcesimus 'Send your servants without any delay; let each man snatch up what provisions he can find for himself and start at once, *cum cibo cum quiqui*, as the blackbird sings.'

The phrase *cum cibo* suggests to him the proverbial post-haste march to Sutrium and he adds 'as if, in fact, they were marching to Sutrium.'

Mr. W. W. Fowler of Lincoln College, Oxford, whom one naturally consults on all questions of bird-lore, has been kind enough to send me the following note:— 'That *merula* is the blackbird is certain, I think, comparing Pliny x. 89 with the passage of Aristotle from which, as usual, he borrows. The blackbird's winter chuckle (*hieme balbutit*, says Pliny) is uttered as he hurries off, and might conceivably be made into *cum cibo cum quiqui*, pronouncing these words in the Roman way.'

W. M. LINDSAY.

* * *

VIRGIL *Aen.* i. ll. 453 foll.

Namque sub ingenti lustrat dum singula templo,
Reginam operiens, dum, quae Fortuna sit urbi,
Artificumque manus inter se operumque laborem
Miratur, videt Iliacas ex ordine pugnas
Bellaque &c.

Conington's rendering of *art. man. inter se* as 'the skill of the rival artists, though it gives sense, is confessedly unsatisfactory. The words if taken together cannot give this meaning.'

The passage in *Georg.* iv. 174 is no parallel, for there *inter sese* depends on *braccia tollunt* *In numerum*, they lift their arms in time with each other. In fact *inter se* by itself cannot imply rivalry, but only reciprocity.

The reading *intra se* and the correction *intrans* both appear improbable, so that *inter se* must stand.

Is it not possible that Virgil wrote *mirantur* meaning 'while Aeneas and Achates speak to each other of their wonder as to the fortunes of the city and at the works of the artists'?

The insertion of the plural *mirantur* between the singulars *lustrat* and *videt*, both of which refer to Aeneas only, would naturally be liable to early corruption, perhaps even by Tucca and Varius.

M. T. TATHAM.

* * *

JUVENAL i. 147-149.

Nil erit ulterius quod nostris moribus addat
posteritas; eadem facient cupientque minores;
omne in praecipiti vitium stetit.

'All vice has settled at its zenith' say Mayor and others. But another explanation (not my own,

though I cannot say where I saw it) is so clearly preferable that the current rendering ought to be banished from editions. 'In praecipiti' cannot mean 'at its zenith.' Ground is not called 'praeceps' simply as being high: it is called so, when there is a sheer descent below. 'Praecept' in such a case connotes the possibility of falling or rushing rapidly down.

The phrase 'in praecipiti' is always used, literally or figuratively, in this sense. The 'turrem in praecipiti stans' of Virg. *A.* 2, 460 stands 'on the edge' of the palace roof and is sent toppling over. Seneca uses it figuratively in *Ep.* 23, 6, 'in praecipiti voluptas: ad dolorem vergit, nisi modum teneat' (i.e. you are easily precipitated from pleasure into pain) and *Ep.* 97, 10 non pronum cunibus tantum ad vitia, sed praeeptus, a passage which Juvenal, who is full of echoes of Seneca, no doubt had in his mind, for it is his own meaning in almost identical

words. Petron. *Sat.* 55 has 'quam in praecipiti res humanae essent vario sermone garrimus,' and Tac. *A.* 4, 30, 4, 'Caesar irritas leges, rem publicam in praecipiti, conquestus.' So Hor. *S.* 2, 3, 293, 'casus medicusve levavit aegrum ex praecipiti,' where Palmer notes 'in praecipiti is a technical term used of the critical state of a sick person, *Cels.* 2, 6.'

Juvenal's meaning is therefore 'All vice stands on a sheer descent. Once start and you soon reach the bottom. We have already reached it, and our posterity can go no further.' 'Stetit' must be a gnomic perfect, though I am unable to put my finger on another example of this in Juvenal: the examples in Weidner's grammatical index are more than doubtful. Prof. Palmer has proposed for other reasons to read 'omne in praecipiti vitium est. eia! utere velis.'

H. RICHARDS.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

Die Öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Alterthümer in Rom; by WOLFGANG HELBIG. Leipzig, 1891. 2 vols. sm. 8vo.

DR. HELBIG, to whom the science of classical archaeology already owes many important contributions, has conferred a very great boon on the visitor to Rome and the classical student generally by the preparation of this useful and conveniently portable Guide to the many separate museums of Rome.

Dr. Helbig has shown great judgment in the selection he has made in this descriptive Guide of the most important objects; since it would, of course, have been impossible in a work of this scale to attempt to give a complete list of all the countless statues, bronzes, vases and the like which are contained in the numerous museums of Rome.

These two little volumes are well illustrated with wood-cuts, which represent, not works of art which are described in the catalogue and which are to be seen in the Roman museums, but, what is much more useful, they illustrate various objects such as gems, coins, vase paintings, bronzes and other kinds of sculpture in various European collections, which in some way explain or throw light upon the works of art in Dr. Helbig's catalogue. Thus, for example, with the description of the Apollo of the Vatican Belvedere we have an illustration of the famous Stroganoff bronze statuette in St Petersburg, the motive of which appears to be the same as that of the Vatican statue, and which still has both the hands perfect showing that the object held in the missing

outstretched right hand of the Apollo was, most probably, not a bow, as in the modern restoration, but the *aegis* with which the god is said to have discomfited the Gaulish pillagers of his shrine at Delphi.

In addition to the accounts given of the most important objects in the well known and often described Vatican, Capitoline and other long established Roman museums, Dr. Helbig, in his new Guide, gives brief but useful indications of the contents of the newly created museums in Rome, which are as yet but little known to travellers.

Within the last two or three years no less than three new and very important museums have been opened in Rome.

The first of these is in the beautiful *Villa di Papa Giulio III.*, which Vignola built for His Holiness outside the Porta del Popolo, near Monte Parioli. The large collection preserved there, which fills a whole suite of rooms, consists of the objects discovered during recent excavations in the Necropolis of Falerii, near the modern Città Castellana.

The tombs in this cemetery, in point of date, extend over a very long period; the earliest, which belong to a remote pre-historic date, contain rude hand-made pottery, together with weapons which are of bronze more frequently than of iron. In some rather later graves the pottery is of exceptional interest from the manner in which the potter has closely imitated in clay the special forms and technique of vessels made of riveted bronze plates. Many of these curious cups or bowls are surrounded with little bosses or studs of real bronze stuck into the

clay while it was soft in exactly the positions which, in the original bronze vessels, was occupied by the heads of the rivets used to fasten the metal plates together. The next stage, shown by the contents of rather later graves, was for the potter to copy the rows of rivet-heads in clay; and last of all the metal fastenings are simply indicated by little incised circles, which have become mere ornaments of which the original meaning had probably been completely forgotten.

Tombs in the Necropolis of Falerii of a still later date, about the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., have supplied a large number of very beautiful Greek vases, imports both from Greece itself and from the colonies of Magna Graecia; and then in the tombs of the following period we find a very interesting class of painted vases, of local fabrique, and yet closely imitating the products of the purely Hellenic potters. Thus we see Latin inscriptions, usually explanatory names, painted on vases which at first sight appear to be of Greek *provenance*—a very strange and interesting combination. This very valuable collection has now for about two years been opened to public view.

The next addition to the museums of Rome is still in progress of formation in the stately cloister which Michelangelo built for the Carthusian monks of Santa Maria degli Angeli, on the site of part of the great *Thermae* of Diocletian.

This enormous museum is still far from being complete in its arrangement, and only two or three subsidiary rooms are as yet open to visitors. In these rooms have been placed the fine colossal bronze statues of the *Athlete* and the *Seated Gladiator*, with the standing figure of *Bacchus*, which were found while digging foundations for new streets on the Quirinal Hill in 1885.

It is only this small portion of the new *Museo delle Terme*, as it is called, which Dr. Helbig describes in his Handbook. We may hope that in a further edition he may give us an account of the enormous and extremely interesting collection of objects which are now being arranged all along the four sides of the great cloister—one of the largest in the world—and also in the open space of the central area or cloister-garth.

This is the resting-place which has been selected for the great collection of inscriptions, sculpture and objects of all kinds which have been discovered in Rome itself during the past fifteen years, especially during the digging foundations for the new streets, and the formation of the great river embankment, which is now destroying all

the picturesque beauty of the old Tiber. On the cloister walls are fixed a magnificent series of mural paintings, some of the finest of which were cut off the walls of the riverside villa which was exposed and then destroyed in the gardens of the *Villa Farnesina*. On the whole these paintings, which date from the Augustan period, are much finer both in design and in execution than those on the walls of the Pompeian houses. Many of them are of purely Hellenic style, evidently the work of Greek painters, one of whom, *Selenkos*, has signed his name at the bottom of his work.

Together with these paintings were found most lovely series of wall- and ceiling-reliefs, moulded in the beautiful hard stucco made of powdered marble which the Romans called *caementum marmoreum*. Unfortunately these delicate stucco reliefs, with figures of deities, fauns, winged Victories and the like, mingled with magnificently decorative scroll-work of vine-plants and ivy branches, were sadly broken in the process of cutting them off the walls of the villa, so that they are now a very melancholy sight to any one who had the good luck to see them during the short period when they were exposed to view and yet in their place in the building.

These reliefs have been placed, not with the mural paintings in the great cloister, but in the small room by the bronzes, and thus they fall within the scope of Dr. Helbig's Guide, which naturally cannot describe museums which are still in a rather chaotic state; see vol. II. p. 204.

The inscriptions in the cloister are in many cases of the very highest interest; among them, for example, will be found that invaluable record of the festival, the games and the ritual of the *Ludi Saeculares* which were celebrated by Augustus: of which so interesting an edition has recently been published by Mommsen.

Volumes indeed might be written on the epigraphic treasures of this wonderful museum, which, it is to be hoped, will before long be thrown open for public inspection or at least made available for students.

The third museum, which also is far from being ready to open to public view, has been established, not by the government of Italy, but by the municipal authorities of Rome. This collection is contained in a newly built *Magazzino* on the Caelian Hill, in the gardens of the suppressed monastery of SS. Giovanni e Paolo. Like the *Museo delle Terme*, it is restricted to objects found in Rome, and is specially noticeable for its

collections of objects of pre-historic and early Republican date, including many of the very interesting contents of the tombs in the early Necropolis on the Esquiline Hill, among which were Egyptian scarabs and enamelled pottery of the early Rhodian type, brought probably westwards in the ships of Phoenician traders during the infancy of the Latin settlements among the Seven Hills.

The same museum also contains some extremely interesting fragments of terra-cotta sculpture from the early Temple of Capitoline Jupiter, which were found buried near the House of the German Institute on the summit of the Capitolium. Fragments such as these were venerated as sacred relics by the Romans themselves. Aulus Gellius tells us that when any terra-cotta fragments happened from age and decay to fall from the temple, they were preserved in the subterranean treasuries, the *flavissae* or *favissae* cut in the rock on which the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus stood: see Aul. Gell. *Noct. Att.* ii. 10.

One of the most estimable points about Dr. Helbig's Guide to the Roman museums is the ample list of references which he gives to the literature of each work of art which he describes. In all respects the work is a valuable one, and it will do much to make a visit to Rome more instructive to all who really care to study the art and archaeology of Greece and Rome.

J. H. MIDDLETON.

Illahun, Kahun and Gurob.¹ By W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE. London: David Nutt. 1891. Pp. viii. 59; and 33 plates. Large 4to. 16s.

In the *Hellenic Journal* for October 1890 Mr. Petrie published a sensational article on 'the Egyptian bases of Greek history.' Nobody could take such an article very seriously; but nobody could fairly criticize it at the time, for Mr. Petrie merely stated his results, and reserved most of his evidence for publication in his work on *Illahun*. This evidence having at length been published, I am going to subject the whole of Mr. Petrie's theory to a little criticism.

¹ This volume deals principally with matters that are not within the province of the *Classical Review*. But, besides Mr. Petrie's account of the so-called Aegean pottery, there is a note by Mr. Hicks on a Greek inscription fixing the site of Ptolemais, and a popular article by Mr. Sayce on the Greek papyri from Gurob, which have since been published in *Hermathena*.

After speaking of his excavations in the Delta, Mr. Petrie said, *J.H.S.* xi. 273:—

'We see then that back to 650 B.C. we have secured a firm footing for Greek pottery at Naukratis and Daphnae.—In what follows I should first state that I give the Egyptian chronology as indicated by the Sirius festival, which is far the most certain result, but is the lowest yet adopted; any other sources would lead to dates a century or two more remote.'

Earlier dates have been adopted by other authorities who reckon from the Sirius festivals. Thus, while Mr. Petrie puts Ramessu II. at about 1200 B.C., Mahler and Brugsch assign the date 1318 B.C. to the Sirius festival celebrated in the thirtieth year of that king's reign.² To avoid confusion, I am accepting Mr. Petrie's chronology throughout this article.

The next step we obtain is from the pottery in a tomb at Kahun near the mouth of the Fayum. This tomb belongs to about 1100 B.C., or within fifty years of that either way. It contained some dozens of bodies, and a great quantity of pottery, Egyptian, Phoenician, Cypriote and Aegean. This latter term I use to avoid the historical question of the race which produced this early pottery, and the local question as to whether it belongs to the Peloponnesos, the islands, or the Asiatic coast.'

This tomb appears in *Illahun* as the Tomb of Maket, and the whole of the fifth chapter is devoted to a description of its contents. But only one piece of pottery is described there as Aegean: viz. the vase already published,³ *J.H.S.* vol. xi., plate xiv., fig. 1. The tomb contained a dozen coffins, numbered 1 to 12 for reference; and their relative positions showed that 8—10 were buried after 1—7 and before 11, 12. The vase was found in 9. Mr. Petrie fixes the date of the tomb in this way, *Illahun*, p. 23:—

'The broad limits of age are (1) the scarabs—in coffin 1—which prove the earliest coffin to be after Tahutmes III. (2) The blue glass frog—also in coffin 1—which is probably of Amenhotep III. or IV. (3) The green and black glazed beads—with coffins 4 to 7—particularly the ribbed ones, which were not made before Ramessu II., and the ribbing of which shows the first stage of the deep ribbing prevalent in the 22nd dynasty. (4) There is no pottery here like that of the 18th and early 19th dynasty; no trace of blue paint, no hard white-

² *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Alterthumskunde*, vol. 28, pp. 32 ff.

³ Mr. Petrie says that 'this vase is of the same manufacture as two others that were found in Egypt with cuttle-fish ornamentation: one is in the Abbott collection at New York, the other from Erment is in the British Museum.' I may mention here that in the Villa Borelli at Marseilles I have seen a vase with cuttle-fish ornamentation like those two. It bears the number 1043 on a label, but is still uncatalogued and unpublished, so far as I can ascertain. In shape it is an oenochoe.

faced ware, no elegant forms; but on the contrary the pottery here is mostly unknown in Gurob, that is, down to the time of Merenptah. These successive evidences bring down the age of the burials here to at least after the reign of Ramessu II. for the earliest limit of possible age.

Now let us take the evidence for the later limit, which is necessarily negative. (1) There are no examples of the well known pottery of the 26th dynasty. (2) There are no figures of Bast and other deities which are so common in the adjacent tombs of Illahun in the 22nd dynasty. (3) There are no examples of the light green glazes so characteristic of the 22nd dynasty. (4) There are no stone or shell beads so common in the 22nd dynasty, nor any scarabs of that age. (5) The coffin 11 is of the style of that assigned to the beginning of the 19th dynasty at Gurob, and is quite different in motive and colour to those of the 22nd dynasty. Hence this tomb would be nearer to the 19th than the 22nd. (6) The same is shown by the bronze knife—in coffin 7.

Mr. Petrie is singularly inconsistent in his reasoning. He argues first that the absence of pottery of the 18th and early 19th dynasty shows that the tomb is *later* than the early part of the 19th dynasty. And then he argues that the absence of objects belonging to the 22nd dynasty shows that the tomb is *earlier* than the 22nd dynasty. Negative evidence is not worth much. But, if this evidence shows that the tomb is later than the early part of the 19th dynasty, it will also show that it is later than the 22nd and the 25th dynasties. Or conversely, if it shows that the tomb is earlier than the 22nd dynasty, it will also show that it is earlier than the 18th.

The coffin 'assigned to the beginning of the 19th dynasty at Gurob' is presumably the coffin engraved on plate xix. of Mr. Petrie's former work on Gurob and assigned on p. 39 to the time of Seti I. at the beginning of the 19th dynasty. But that coffin is not assigned to this period on any solid evidence. The date of the coffin is deduced from the date of various objects found in the same group of tombs, and the date of those objects is merely guessed from their style. Mr. Petrie says that this coffin and coffin 11 are of the same style: yet he does not assert that they are of the same date, as he fairly might, if they clearly were of the same style. He only says:—'hence this tomb would be nearer to the 19th than the 22nd dynasty.' And this lame conclusion shows that he does not himself regard the similarity as very striking. Unfortunately there is no engraving of coffin 11 to enable the reader to form an opinion of his own.

Mr. Petrie assigns the date 1200 B.C. to the reign of Ramessu II. at the beginning of the 19th dynasty, and the date 975 B.C.

to the 22nd dynasty. And then, opining that the tomb could not be earlier than the one or later than the other, in a rough and ready way he gives it a date midway between the two, namely 1100 B.C. In the *Hellenic Journal* he said very positively:—'This tomb belongs to about 1100 B.C., or within fifty years of that either way.' Few judges would hold that Mr. Petrie was justified in making so positive a statement on such slender evidence.

Altogether, no convincing reasons have been adduced for assigning an unduly early date to the so-called Aegean vase in coffin 9. Coffin 11 was buried after coffin 9; and coffin 11 is said to be in the style of a coffin found at Gurob in the neighbourhood of objects said to be in the style of similar objects dating from the 18th and 19th dynasties. A bronze knife in coffin 7 is said—rather obscurely—to be somewhat in the style of similar knives dating from the 19th dynasty; but coffin 7 was buried before coffin 9. And the beads found with coffin 7 are acknowledged to be somewhat in the style of the ribbed beads of the 22nd dynasty. The negative evidence is altogether inconclusive.

Mr. Petrie proceeded, *J.H.S.* xi. 274:—

'The next style to consider is that of the false-necked vases, otherwise called *bügelkannen*, or pseudamphorae. The most degraded of all were those found by Mr. Griffith at Tell el-Yahudiye, of about 1050 B.C. (Ramessu VI.). These have no ornament, are roughly formed in a debased and clumsy way, of the plain red pottery of the country. The next stage is a neatly made example of native pottery, unornamented but much modified from the original shape. I found this at Gurob, dated to about 1150 B.C. (Seti II.)'—[see *Illahun*, p. 18, 'The last dated group is under Seti II.; dated by a little tray of black steatite with his name.']—'The next form is an extra large size of fine paste, but not of the Aegean quality, with traces of red painting: fairly well formed, but not normal. This I found at Gurob dated to about 1200 B.C. (Ramessu II.).'—[see *Illahun*, p. 17, 'The next group is also of Ramessu II., but probably at the end of his long reign; dated by his cartouche and that of queen Nefertari.']—'Before that, about 1350 B.C. (Tutankhamen), I found perfectly formed examples of the true pale-brown paste, and iron-glaze lines with discs surrounded by a circle of dots as the only ornament. These are of the wide shallow type, elegantly shaped, and mark the highest stage of this form.'—[see *Illahun*, p. 17, 'The next group is dated to Tutankhamen by the delicate little blue pendants found with it.']—'The earliest of all are of a deep globular form, of which several were found dated to about 1400 B.C. (Amenhotep III.), with broad iron-glaze bands, and no other ornament, painted on a base of Aegean paste.'—[see *Illahun*, p. 16, 'A group of the time of Amenhotep III.; it is dated by a kohl tube with part of his cartouche.']—'We have then carried back a chain of examples in sequence, showing that the earliest geometrical pottery of Mykenae begins about 1400 B.C. and is

succeeded by the beginning of natural designs about 1100 B.C.

Mr. Petrie's inconsistency is really surprising. In dealing with the tomb of Maket he argued, reasonably enough, that coffin 1 must have been buried after the time of Tahutmes III., since it contained scarabs bearing the name of that king; and he did not hesitate to give the date 1100 B.C. to the tomb, while he gave the date 1450 B.C. to Tahutmes III. But here he argues that all the objects in the same interment with a tray bearing the name of Seti II. are necessarily contemporary with Seti II., that all the objects in the same interment with a kohl tube bearing the cartouche of Amenhotep III. are necessarily contemporary with Amenhotep III., and so forth. There is no proof of that.

False-necked vases have been obtained by various persons from various parts of Egypt; but Mr. Petrie speaks only of those few that were found by himself and one of his colleagues at Gurob and Tell el-Yahudiyeh. Possibly he thinks that no other investigators are capable of determining a date. But he ought not to ignore the well-known vases of this type that are depicted in fresco in the tomb of Ramessu III. These vases¹ are ornamented with three bands apiece; and in the two zones between the bands there are interlacing lines interspersed with dots. The ornamentation indicates that these vases were very closely related to those that are assigned by Mr. Petrie to the reign of Tutankhamen. But, according to Mr. Petrie's chronology, the date of Tutankhamen is about 1350 B.C., while the date of Ramessu III. is about 1100 B.C., or two hundred and fifty years later.

Thus, in the first place, the false-necked vases from Gurob have been dated capriciously. And then, in the second place, the date of the whole class of false-necked vases has been deduced from the supposed dates of these few, without regard to the dates assigned on surer grounds to others of the same class.

This fallacious argument about the false-necked vases leads Mr. Petrie to assert that 'the earliest geometrical pottery of Mycenae begins about 1400 B.C., and is succeeded by the beginning of natural designs about 1100 B.C.' Even if the argument were

¹ Engraved by Prisse d'Avennes, *Histoire de l'Art Égyptien*, atlas, vol. ii., plate 84; by Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte*, vol. iii., plates 258, 259; by Rosellini, *Monumenti dell'Egitto*, vol. ii., monumenti civili, plate 59; and in the great French work, *Description de l'Égypte*, antiquités, vol. ii., plates 87, 92.

sound, such an inference would be extremely hazardous. No doubt, one of the so-called Aegean vases with natural designs was found at Kahun in a tomb assigned on very dubious evidence to 1100 B.C. But that does not prove much.

Mr. Petrie proceeded, *J.H.S.* xi. 274:—

'It may be asked how we come to find such a series in Egypt. These are part of the products of that great wave of Graeco-Libyan conquest which swept almost over Egypt time after time. Under Shishak the Libyans finally entered into power in Egypt, the outcome of their invasions which had been previously repelled by Ramessu III. (1100 B.C.), by Merenptah (1190 B.C.), and by Amenhotep (about 1600 B.C.). At the mouth of the Fayum they were firmly established, and Aegean pottery is found there, along with customs of funeral sacrifice of property by fire.'

This talk about a 'great wave of Graeco-Libyan conquest' would be incomprehensible but that on p. 277 Mr. Petrie talks about 'Libyo-Akhaian invasions.' In the fifth year of king Merenptah Egypt was invaded by the joint forces of the Lebu, the Aqaūasha, and other peoples. An ingenious critic, E. de Rougé, identified the Lebu with the Libyans and the Aqaūasha with the Achaeans.² The latter identification rests on no evidence whatever beyond the fact that the names Aqaūasha and Achaeans both begin with A. So it was a very ingenious identification, and quite the finest thing of its kind since those comparisons between Macedon and Monmouth in *King Henry V.* Now, the Lebu invaded Egypt several times, but the Aqaūasha only once; at any rate, only one invasion is recorded. But Mr. Petrie not only assumes that the Aqaūasha were Achaeans or Greeks, but also assumes that they were in permanent alliance with the Lebu.

Mr. Petrie proceeded, *J.H.S.* xi. 275:—

'Another interesting relic of these same Graeco-Libyan invasions was found at Abusir, in the middle of the Delta, and is in my possession. So far as the lower part of the figure is concerned, it is exactly copied from the Greek island figures in marble, the treatment being quite unlikely in pottery, but imitating the rounded mass and shallow grooving of the stone. The head shows the Libyan lock of hair, the sign of that race. To the 12th century B.C. we must then approximately date this figure, and with it the marble figures found in the Greek islands.'

The substance of this statement is repeated in *Illahun*, p. 19, with the remark that Mr. Petrie did not find this figure himself, but bought it in Cairo. Mr. Petrie considers that this figure exhibits Greek and

² See his articles in the *Revue Archéologique*, new series, vol. 16, especially pp. 94 ff.

Libyan characteristics, and he is therefore entitled to argue that it is a Graeco-Libyan work. But he goes further, and asserts that it is a Graeco-Libyan work of a particular period, namely, the period of those imaginary invasions. There is no evidence of that. So the Greek island figures can not be dated by means of this figure from Abusir.

Mr. Petrie proceeded, *J.H.S.* xi. 275 :—

'So far we have dealt with facts which are now hardly controvertible [!!!] as to the well fixed age of these vases. But we have pushed the dim period back, and must reckon with it in much earlier times. The civilization of Mykenae was no sudden apparition; it must have had centuries of preparation; and we now turn to what came before its time.'

And then, after stating some evidence which I will consider presently, he continued, p. 276 :—

'To what does this evidence tend? So far as we can venture to form a working hypothesis, we are led to carry back the Graeco-Libyan league to account for it. The Egyptians were in contact with the northern people of the Mediterranean as early as 2800 B.C., and the evidence of the weights and measures found in the town of 2500 B.C. [i.e. Kahun] shows that the inhabitants were mainly foreigners. This points to another possibility (suggested to me by Prof. Poole) that as in Manetho the 16th dynasty is named as of 'Hellenic Shepherd Kings' (on which editors in their wisdom have made conjectural emendations) there may be some truth in this strange passage. Why may not a similar Mediterranean invasion have poured into Egypt in 2000 B.C. as it did in 1200, 1100, and 1000? The Libyo-Greek league may have been already strong enough to pour in a horde on the country already beaten down by the Hyksos invasion. Whatever our conjectures in this dim period may be, we have to deal with the rise of the Libyo-Greek civilization, and the league to which it led.'

This is mere guess-work, and utterly without foundation.

To account for a Libyo-Greek league, which never existed, Mr. Petrie has imagined a Libyo-Greek civilization; and speaks of this as though it were a recognized matter of history.

The statement about the 'Hellenic Shepherd Kings' is not to be found in Manetho's account of the Hyksos which is quoted in full by Josephus, *c. Apion.* i. 14, and again by Eusebius, *praep. evan.* x. 13 and *chron. arm.* i. 21. But in Syncellus, who also followed Manetho, the second of the Hyksos dynasties [i.e. the 16th] is named as of ποιμένες ἄλλοι βασιλεῖς, p. 61 C; and Jacob Goar changed ἄλλοι to Ἕλληνες as an emendation in his edition.¹ So it would seem

that Mr. Petrie, or his informant, has mistaken this emendation for the reading of the MSS., and consequently has misjudged his sarcasm.

The other remarkable statement, 'the Egyptians were in contact with the northern people of the Mediterranean as early as 2800 B.C.,' is thus explained in *Illahun*, p. 9 :—'and historically we know that the Hanebu or lords of the north, who certainly mean Greeks in the later monuments, were already known to the Egyptians.' In the Rosetta Stone, and other inscriptions of that class, the term Hanebu is undoubtedly applied to the Greeks; but there is not a scrap of evidence that this term was so applied in early times. Greek sources notoriously afford a mass of evidence that the Greeks could not have been in touch with Egypt in this remote age: but Mr. Petrie quietly ignores all that.

To return now to *J.H.S.* xi. 275 :—

'In the ruins of a town of the 12th dynasty, about 2500 B.C., at the mouth of the Fayum, there are many varieties of foreign pottery, altogether different to any known in the times through which we have previously gone back—to 1400 B.C. The fact that these styles are almost all unknown hitherto; that they are mostly ruder than the pottery after 1400 B.C., that they are constantly associated with Egyptian pottery older than 2000 B.C., and that they are found in rubbish-heaps which have never been disturbed since probably 2500 B.C., are all strong evidences of their great age.'

This town is Kahun, and these rubbish-heaps are thus described in *Illahun*, p. 9 :—

'The rubbish-heaps where this pottery was found are entirely of the 12th dynasty. Not only every piece of pottery which I saw there is clearly of that age, but from their position no later people would have accumulated the heaps. The town of Kahun was built by the architect for the pyramid workmen; and when the pyramid and temple were finished the town was mostly deserted, and the people of the 12th and 13th dynasties heaped up their rubbish in the deserted rooms. A large part of the rooms which we cleared were filled up with broken potsherds and rubbish. When therefore rubbish could be shot inside the town so readily, who would have taken the trouble to carry it outside? The external rubbish-heaps must belong to a time when the town was full. And their contents agree to that early age. But this Aegean pottery is found in and under these rubbish-heaps, and therefore the evidence unmistakably shows that it must be of the time of Usertesen II.'

Usertesen II. was the king who built this pyramid in the 12th dynasty. Mr. Petrie says here that the town was mostly deserted when the pyramid and temple were finished: but on p. 15 he admits that some part of the town was occupied in the 18th dynasty.

¹ As Dindorf justly remarks in the preface to the Bonn edition of Syncellus, *saepe Goaro accidit ut quae*

in codice negligenter legisset, temerariis conjecturis magis depravaret.

Now, there is manifestly nothing in the position of the rubbish-heaps to show that they were formed in the 12th dynasty rather than in the 18th; or indeed that they are not of far later date. But their contents consisted mainly of Egyptian pottery which Mr. Petrie assigns to the 12th dynasty. If this pottery is rightly assigned to that dynasty, there is a strong presumption that the heaps date from then: yet only a presumption, which may be overthrown by evidence that some of their contents belong to subsequent ages.

The so-called Aegean pottery from these heaps has every appearance of belonging to a subsequent age. And to this obvious objection Mr. Petrie makes the following reply, *Illahun*, p. 10:—

'The main argument for a later date for this Aegean pottery is the fineness of the paste, and the high polish of the surface. No doubt these details appear like those of later times. But there is internal evidence contradicting a late date for these pieces. None were finer or thinner than (plate i. 12 and 14=*J.H.S.* vol. xi., plate xiv., 5). Now these belong to a class of vessel which is wholly unknown to myself, or to other students to whom I have referred, as ever having been found in historic pottery. The mouth is a simple hole without a lip, like a hole cut in a gourd.'

This reply is palpably defective. The fineness of the paste and polish of the surface indicate that these so-called Aegean vases belong to a certain period. That is not contradicted. But, it is said, some of them are of a shape that we do not find in this period. If it could be said that they are of a shape that we never shall find in this period, the reply would be good. But at present too little is known about this period for any one to say anything of the sort. For my own part, I cannot see that they differ much in shape from the Greek vases that are commonly called *stamnoi*.

Some other pottery from these heaps is thus described by Mr. Petrie, *Illahun*, p. 10:—

'Lastly there is the black pottery (plate i. 17, 20, 21=*J.H.S.* vol. xi., plate xiv., 9) the latter piece being whitened by concretions. This pottery is common at Kahun, many pieces being found last year (*Kahun*, xxvii., 199 to 202). It was found also by M. Naville along with scarabs of the 12th and 13th dynasty at Khataneh, deep down in burials which could not have been later disturbed. Its age therefore seems well assured; and it closely resembles in colour, form, and decoration the earliest Italian black pottery.'

According to M. Naville, *Goshen*, p. 22, that pottery was found at Khataneh along with one scarab bearing the name of a king

of the 13th dynasty. This shows that the pottery was not buried before the 13th dynasty; but not that it was buried then. The burials, no doubt, were deep and had not been disturbed. But this does not show when they were made. In short, M. Naville has not demonstrated the immense antiquity of this pottery; and Mr. Petrie acknowledges its resemblance to the earliest black pottery of Italy.

There is some evidence, then, that foreign potsherds of a relatively late period have been found in these rubbish-heaps outside Kahun in company with those native potsherds which Mr. Petrie assigns to the 12th dynasty. If this be so, the rubbish-heaps must be of later date than he supposes. Now, in his former work on Kahun, p. 31, he admits that 'in Roman times the town was dug into for limestone.' The rubbish-heaps outside the town may possibly have been formed during some such clearance of the site.

Thus far I have assumed that the Egyptian pottery from these rubbish-heaps has been rightly assigned by Mr. Petrie to the 12th dynasty. If he is in error here, his argument about Kahun breaks down altogether. But he nowhere states his reasons for assigning this pottery to that dynasty: and, seeing how readily he deduces dates from inconclusive evidence, I may be permitted to doubt whether his reasons here are satisfactory.

Mr. Petrie's argument about Kahun really amounts to this. In the rubbish-heaps outside the town he found some of the so-called Aegean pottery intermixed with Egyptian pottery which he assigns to the 12th dynasty. There is therefore a presumption that this Aegean pottery is as old as that Egyptian pottery, that is to say, as old as the 12th dynasty. But this presumption must be abandoned, if a single piece of this Aegean pottery can be shown to be of later date. And doubts may perhaps be entertained whether that Egyptian pottery is really as old as the 12th dynasty.

This argument is of a piece with the arguments about Gurob and the Tomb of Maket. Even if Mr. Petrie has stated the evidence accurately, he has not shown that the evidence necessarily leads to his conclusions: and it is hard to believe that a man who is so inaccurate in his reasoning, can be altogether accurate in his statement of the evidence. To say the least, his theory is not proven.

Cecil Torr.

Schliemann's Ausgrabungen im Lichte der heutigen Wissenschaft dargestellt, von DR. CARL SCHUCHHARDT. Zweite verbesserte und vermehrte Ausgabe. Leipzig, Brockhaus. 1891.

Schliemann's Excavations, an Archaeological and Historical Study. By DR. C. SCHUCHHARDT, Director of the Kestner Museum in Hanover. Translated from the German by EUGÉNIE SELLERS, with an Appendix on the recent discoveries at Hissarlik by DR. Schliemann and Dr. Dörpfeld, and an Introduction by WALTER LEAF, Litt.D. Macmillan, 1891.

THE first edition of this work has won a well-deserved reputation; it is needless now to repeat what has on so many sides been said about its merits. But the appearance of a second edition gives an opportunity of pointing out various faults which are more pardonable in a new work than in one which has passed through the ordeal of minute criticism. And it must be confessed that the second edition has not been cleared of these so completely as might have been wished. We still find on p. 45 the monstrous form 'Thrinakria,' a jumble of the Homeric *Thrinakie* and the Thucydidean *Trinakria*—which shows that Schuchhardt, while repeating a fantastic theory of Wilamowitz as if it were an ascertained fact, has not taken the trouble to understand the argument on which it is based. Mr. Sayce is still said to have recognised 'Hittite' writing on a seal, though curiously enough, only a few lines below, the same writing is said to be 'in Cypriote letters.' There is no mention of the inscribed whorl found last year, with signs which it seems hardly possible to deny are really Cypriote; though this comes from one of the upper strata, it is evidently too important a link in the argument to be entirely omitted. The island of Daskalio is still said to lie 'ziemlich genau in der Mitte zwischen Ithaka und Kephallonia,' though it is about six times as far from the latter as from the former. Various other errors which were corrected by Miss Sellers in the English translation reappear untouched; nor does Schuchhardt seem to have profited by the somewhat severe criticisms by Dr. Belger in the *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*; for instance, there is still not a word about the great jars large enough to hold a man which formed a main point in the argument of Captain Bötticher on which Schuchhardt pours so much scorn.

These things should not be: but it is more

by misfortune than through neglect that the work is behind date even at its publication. It is pure ill-luck that it should come out just too soon to take advantage of Mr. Petrie's paper in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* which must form the foundation of all the chronology of the Mykenae period; too soon to reproduce the extraordinary picture of a siege which has just been discovered on a silver bowl from one of the graves at Mykenae, and forms by far the closest parallel between the finds and the *Iliad*: too soon to know anything of the latest excavations in 'Mrs. Schliemann's Treasury,' which seem to decide in the affirmative the question of the closing up of the portals of the great bee-hive tombs nearly at the date of their construction. A delay of a few months would have immensely improved the value of the book, which cannot be said to present any material advantage over the first edition. The illustration of the Vaphio cups compares very unfavourably with the beautiful reproduction given in the English translation.

Of the English translation I can hardly profess myself a fair judge. In the first place I must confess to a certain personal interest in the work, and in the second I doubt if the familiarity acquired by a minute revision of proofs is the best preparation for a critical view. I may however be permitted to say that I think that Miss Sellers has in many ways, which would pass unnoticed by the casual reader, shown excellent judgment in adapting the work for an English constituency. Apart from the various corrections which I have noticed above she has not hesitated to cut down much which an English reader would regard as 'gush' and which certainly did not add either to the scientific or literary value of the original.

The report on the last year's work at Hissarlik had to go into an Appendix instead of being incorporated in the body of the book: but as the results obtained were rather additions than corrections to what was known before, this is hardly likely to cause any real inconvenience. I shall be much disappointed if the book does not give great help to the teaching of archaeology, in addition to exciting the interest of a considerable body of lay readers.

WALTER LEAF.

NEW SICYONIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

On the 1st August, 1891, while engaged in archaeological investigation in the theatre of Sicyon, I had the good fortune to discover in the Albanian village of Basilikó, which

occupies part of the site of Sicyon-Demetrias, the following hitherto unpublished inscription:—

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑΦ(ΙΛΓΤΟΝΒ)
ΟΘΙΝΙΑΣ(ΤΕΙΣΙΚΡΑ)

It is inscribed on a block of black marble, built into the stairs of the house of Nikólaos Anagnóstou. The marble is broken at the right and also cracked vertically. Its dimensions are about .79m. in length (inscribed surface) by .51m. in breadth and .29m. in thickness. The average height of the letters is about .03m., the Θ being somewhat small in proportion to the others including the Θ . The character is tolerably regular and slightly ornate.

In attempting the restoration of the missing portion of this inscription we begin with the second line, which may be read:—

Θουίας Τεωκρά(του)ς ἐποίησε(ν).

The artist here named is a member of the Tisicrates-Thoenias family known to us from the inscriptions collected by Loewy, *Inscr. gr. Bildhauer*, 120–122, and from the notice of ‘Tisicrates Sicyonius’ in Pliny (*N.H.* xxxiv. 66, cited by Loewy, *op. cit.*, sub 120). ‘Thoenias (son) of Tisicrates’ is named in three other inscriptions, Loewy 121, 122a., ‘Inscriptions from Sicyon,’ No. 2 (*Amer. Journ. Arch.*, Vol. V. No. 3, where see Professor Merriam’s valuable note). ‘Thoenias’ (father’s name probably lost) is named, apparently as artist, in another inscription (Loewy 122, classed by Loewy with 121 and 122a), and the same name occurs again as that of the father of a Tisicrates (Loewy 120a). The Tisicrates of Sicyon, known to us from Pliny’s notice (*loc. cit.*) as a pupil of Euthycrates and the executor of works hardly distinguishable from those of Lysippus, is thought to have flourished down to about 284 B.C. (Loewy sub 120, Merriam, *loc. cit.*). On the basis of Loewy’s computations and on epigraphic grounds the Sicyonian inscription no. 2 (*Amer. Journ. Arch.*, *loc. cit.*) in which Θουίας Τεωκράτου(ς) is given as artist, is assigned by Professor Merriam to the second half of the third century B.C. But in approaching more closely the dating of our inscription, the general character of the letters of which alone would assign it to the Macedonian period, we must now consider the upper line.

The ‘king Philip’ on the pedestal of a

statue to which the block bearing our inscription must have belonged, can be none other than Philip V., son of Demetrius, *reg.* 220–178 B.C. We may therefore reasonably read:—

Βασιλέα Φίλιππον βασιλέως Δημητρίων Σικυνῶνι ἀνέθεσαν.

The intimacy of this remarkable monarch with the great Aratus of Sicyon, dating from the time when Antigonus on his death-bed sent the youthful successor to the throne of Macedonia into the Peloponnese to attach himself to Aratus and through him establish relations with the states of the Achaean League (Plutarch, *Arat.* c. 46) and continuing down to the year 215 B.C., is well known. Now there seems to be no other time in the long career of Philip when he would have been likely to be honoured with a statue at Sicyon except this period of his intimacy with Aratus. Indeed it would seem that only under the strongest of pressure would the Sicyonians have subsequently thus honoured the murderer of their greatest statesman and his son. We may even perhaps derive data for a more exact chronology of our inscription from Plutarch (*loc. cit.*), who describes the result of Philip’s mission to the Peloponnese in these words:—Καὶ μέντοι καὶ παραλαβὼν αὐτὸν (Philip) ὁ Ἄρατος οὕτως διέθεκεν ὥστε πολλῆς δὲ πρὸς τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς πράξεις φιλοτιμίας καὶ ὁμῆς μετὸν εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἀποστείλαι. Among other things calculated to secure the good-will of Philip an honorary statue to him as king, even before the death of Antigonus, seems not impossible; indeed Plutarch’s account of Philip’s mission shows that Antigonus sent him as heir-apparent (τὸν διάδοχον τῆς βασιλείας).

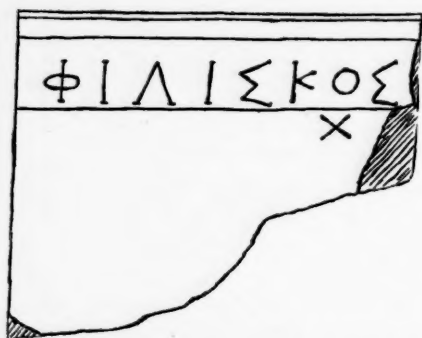
At all events there is good ground, even if we do not assign the statue to the period of Antigonus’ last sickness, for assuming a date not much, if at all, later than the year 220 B.C.

Now the execution of a statue to the young king, being a work of special importance, would have been committed to no inexperienced hands, indeed most probably to those of the veteran artist of Sicyon. We need therefore have no hesitation in assigning to Thoenias at this time an age beyond middle life. As we have seen above, the inferior limit of the *floruit* of Pliny’s Tisicrates, who is reasonably identified with the father of Thoenias, is placed *circ.* 284 B.C. A pupil of Euthycrates (presumably after Lysippus’ death) who executed statues of ‘King Demetrius’ (presumably Poliorcetes, *reg.* 306–283 B.C.) and of

Peucestes, and who had a son still active in his profession *circa* 220 B.C., can hardly have been born earlier than 320 B.C. or later than 300 B.C. Reckoned on this basis the activity of Tisicrates not improbably extended considerably later than 284 B.C. But for our present purpose this is a matter of small account. The question whether Pliny's 'Tisicrates Sicyonius' may without violence to chronology be identified with the father of Thoenias seems to admit of an affirmative answer.

There is therefore no reason to reject Loewy's identification of the 'Tisicrates (son) of Thoenias' of *Inscr. gr. Bildh.* 120^a with the father of our Thoenias, or that of the Thoenias of the Delian inscription, *op. cit.* 122, with our artist himself. I have consequently no change to make in the genealogy of Sicyonian artists at the close of my article on the Statue of Dionysus discovered at Sicyon (*Am. Journ. Arch.*, vol. v. no. 3, p. 303), except to bring down the *floruit* of Tisicrates son of Thoenias at least four Olympiads, and to describe Thoenias son of Tisicrates as artist of a statue to Philip V., *circa* 220 B.C.

It may be added that our inscription further confirms the spelling of the name of Thoenias' father *Τεισικράτης*, which has been rightly treated by Professor Merriam as the Sicyonian form.



In an outbuilding of Geórgios Pappadó-poulos (Γεώργιος Παπαδόπουλος), on a block of *πωρός* .54 m. wide by .26 m. thick. It has apparently been broken from the top of a tombstone, the rest of which is said to remain *in situ* 'κάτω εἰς τὸν κάμπον,' *i.e.* on the site of the older city of Sicyon. The average height of the letters is about .04m. Their tips are somewhat enlarged. The *o* is rather small. There is a plain moulding at the top of the stone.

The inscription is to be read :

Φιλίσκος [...]

Χ[αῖρε]

This stone is either broken sharply on the right, or else the stele consisted of two pieces, the latter hardly probable.

Pausanias (ii. 7. 2) in describing the mode of interment among the Sicyonians says: τὸ μὲν σῶμα γῇ κρύπτονσι, λίθον δὲ ἐποικοδομήσαντες κρητῖδα κίονας ἐφιστάσι, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐπίθημα ποιῶσι κατὰ τοὺς ἀετοὺς μάλιστα τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ναοῖς· ἐπίγραμμα δὲ ἄλλο μὲν ἐπιγράφουσιν οὐδέεν, τὸ δὲ ὄνομα ἐφ' αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐ πατρόθεν ὑπειπόντες κελεύουσιν τὸν νεκρὸν χαίρειν, *i.e.* the simple name of the deceased in the nominative, without an added genitive of the father's name, appeared upon the stone, followed by *χαῖρε*. (The nominative is regular on Attic tombstones, even when, as rarely, *χαῖρε* occurs; cf. *e.g.* *C.I.A.* 3253: *Αἰνησάρετος Ὀρχομένιος | χαῖρε*).

If what is here said be taken as applying to the simple *στῆλαι*, we must suppose in the case of our inscription either that *χρηστός* or another name in the nominative (in which case we should read *χαίρετε*) stood at the right of *Φιλίσκος*, or that the *χαῖρε* is not placed symmetrically.

The name *Philiscus* is not uncommon, but seems not to occur elsewhere as that of a Sicyonian. Vid. Pape, *Lex. Gr. Eigenn. s.v.*

This inscription, if we may draw any conclusion from such minutiae as the form of the *φ*, is somewhat earlier than the last.

On a bit of *πωρός* lying in the courtyard-



wall of Geórgios Pappadó-poulos. No information as to its immediate provenance.

Height of *A* .035m.; of *Π* and *Ο* .035m.; of *Λ* and *Χ* .03m. The form of the letters is such as we should expect in the second century B.C. or later.

We should perhaps read :

Ἀπολλωνίδας
χαίρει

For an Apollonidas at Sicyon, *vid.* Polyb.
23. 8.

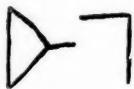


Dowel-hole.

In the dooryard of a certain Soteropoulos (Σωτηρόπουλος), on the upper surface (as it lay) of the drum of a Doric column of *πωρός*, near the dowel-hole. Breadth of drum .76m.; breadth of dowel-hole .095m.; height of letters .06m.

These characters appear to be masons' marks. For other such at Sicyon cf. McMurry in *Am. Journ. Arch.* vol. v. no. 3, p. 273.

It may be questioned whether the second character represents Z or B (cf. the Corinthian form Z of the latter). The former seems clearly meant for N.



On another block of *πωρός* in the same place apparently from an architrave. Apparently ΔΓ, or ΓΔ reversed. Height of former character .085m.; of latter .065m. Apparently masons' marks. The form of the Δ is noteworthy.

The architectural fragments on which these letters are cut were heaped together with a number of others and are evidently the remains of one of the Doric temples of Sicyon. They are from the upper plateau, the site of Sicyon-Demetrias, but no more precise information about their provenance seems obtainable.

MORTIMER LAMSON EARLE.

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HERONDAS IV.—At a meeting of the Cambridge branch of the Hellenic Society. December 3rd 1891, Dr. C. Waldstein read some Archaeological Notes on this poem. The following is an abstract of the chief points in the paper.

The scene appears to be Cos, not only from the mention of the temple of Asklepios, but also from the familiar manner in which reference is made to Apelles, who had done much work for Cos and probably (since a second Aphrodite for Cos remained unfinished at his death) ended his life there. The date is later than the middle of the fourth century, since the sons of Praxiteles are mentioned. On the other hand ll. 76, 77 distinctly imply the possibility, present or at least recent, of seeing Apelles himself; and since the whole character of Herondas points to his rendering contemporary life, the date can hardly be put later than the first half of the third century. Lines 1-19: the Paean to Asklepios seems to refer to a sculptured group of Asklepios and Hygieia, as indicated by l. 4, confirmed by the placing of the *pinax* in l. 19. The *pinax* is one of those small painted terra-cotta tablets of which many have been found at Corinth, a gift of the poorer description, corresponding to the cock. As far as l. 55 the scene lies outside the temple. Line 30: Mr. A. S. Murray's suggestion, that the old man and the boy with the goose form one group, cannot be accepted. The speaker, in accordance with her clearly-drawn character, turns abruptly from one work to another. Line 31-33: of all the reproductions of the group of the boy and goose (cf. Clarac, *Musée de Sculpt.* V. pl. 876, esp. nos. 2228-2230), the famous one hitherto ascribed to Boethos, which represents a boy of about six years (retaining the *sex auno* or *severnis* of the MSS. in Plin. xxxiv. 84 in preference to all emendations) actually pressing the neck of a large goose under his arm, corresponds most to the description of the vulpanser strangled by the boy. Line 55: they now enter the sanctuary. The *παστός* was probably the curtain (cf. Pollux 3, 37, τὸ παρὰ τῇ εὐνῇ παραπίτασμα παστός). Lines 59-71 probably give the description of one panel-painting by Apelles, containing (1) a nude boy, 'whose flesh seems throbbing with warm blood.' This boy was (2) probably holding a silver *πύραργον*, so well painted as to excite the greed of covetous people. (3) An ox led by a man; the ox is either two-thirds *en face* or in profile, as 'he glares so with one eye.' Several Pompeian wall-paintings illustrate this scene (4) An attendant maid and two men, one 'with a hook-nose' and the other 'with a snub-nose.' The whole represents a sacrificial offering; and such scenes with the *πύραργον* may be illustrated from vases (Gerhard, *Arch. Zeit.* 1845, p. 162 *seq.* pl. xxxv.; *Auserlesene Vasenbilder*, pl. clv). The only known pictures of Apelles at all approaching the description are the *Pompa of Megabyzus* (also painted by Parrhasius, *sacerdotem adstante puero cum acerba et corona*, while Pausias painted *boum immolationem*, Plin. xxxv. 70, 126), and the Artemis with the chorus of maidens (Plin. xxxv. 93, 96); but few of the many pictures painted by Apelles are recorded. Lines 72-78 are especially interesting, as containing an emphatic judgment on the art of Apelles. Art-criticisms in ancient authors are generally not appreciated, because the different tastes and circumstances of the writers are not considered. Art and artists were freely discussed among the ancients, and the critics and the public were as much divided into different camps then as now. *E.g.* the expressions concerning Myron in Plin. xxxiv. 58, Quint. xii. 10, 102, become clear when we remember that they represent fundamentally opposed estimates of art. So here, the (perhaps) current view was that Apelles and the later schools, though perfect in technique and in rendering actual life, were less remarkable in religious and historical painting (cf. Cic. *Brut.* 18, 70; Aristotle, *Pol.* viii. 5, 7); while Herondas defends the 'realists,' the modern painters of his

time, against the upholders of the old masters, maintaining that Apelles, 'if he took the notion, hastened to attempt gods as well as other things,' though he generally painted scenes from actual life. At all events the characters in whose lips Herondas puts his views on art were evidently admirers of the contemporary realism; their praise throughout is given to technical skill in the truthful rendering of actual life. They admire the art of Pauson, not of Aristotle, and threaten the champions of the latter's view with hanging in a fuller's shop. This is all in accordance with the realistic character of Herondas' dramatic sketches.

We have received the following from Dr. Waldstein, dated from the American School at Athens, February 6, 1892:—

You and your readers may be interested to know that this School has got concessions to excavate for seven years the whole of Lakonia, including Sparta and Amyklæ, and also the Heraion of Argos and Phlious.—We have already been digging this year at the theatre of Sikyon, which we have completed, and are now engaged at the theatre of Eretria. I start next week to begin digging at the Heraion and then at Sparta. Mr. Washington will have charge of the work at Phlious.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

American Journal of Philology. Whole No. 47. Oct. 1891.

Servius on the tropes and figures of Vergil, 2nd and concluding paper by J. L. Moore. A trope implies a transfer from one sphere of use to another, while a figure does not. Appended is a table showing the agreement between Servius and the various grammarians either in the definition of the trope or figure or in the choice of the same example. *Ueber Fick's vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen*, by Hermann Collitz. The 4th edn. by Adalb. Bezzenberger, Aug. Fick, and Whitley Stokes. A review of the 1st part, Wortschatz der Grundsprache, der Arischen und der Westeuropäischen Spracheinheit by Aug. Fick. Much changed from the previous edn. in the treatment of phonetics and morphology. *Did Philochorus quote the 'Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία as Aristotle's?* by J. H. Wright. A paper to show that Philochorus writing before 306 B.C. quoted the treatise as Aristotle's, sometimes to supplement, sometimes to controvert its statements. *Aristotle on the Public Arbitrators*, by T. D. Goodell. Bergk's conclusion, that the *δαιτυφῆται* were formed into a college, confirmed, though no certain light is thrown on their division into sections, nor on the relation of the different sections to the tribes. *Critical Notes on the Dialogus of Tacitus*, part I., by A. Gudeman. Many passages emended and explained. The Notes are on Callim. *Lex. Pall.* 93-97 by Robinson Ellis, on Parmenides 162 A, B by Paul Shorey, and on the etymology of Latin *cartilago*, English *cartilage*, by G. Hempl. Among the books reviewed are, *Paul's Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*, by M. D. Learned. 'The plan of the work preserves, in the main, due proportions. The most serious lack of proportion appears in the chapter on Dialects.' *Brugmann's Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*, by M. Bloomfield. 'Offers a well-considered, soberly written grammar of the sounds and inflexions of every I.E. language, resting on the broad basis of an incisive knowledge of all of them.' *Vollbrecht's Wörterbuch zu Xenophon's Anabasis*, by C. T. Williams. 'As nearly perfect as, with our present knowledge, it could be.' Under Brief Mention by the editor are notes on the Greek equivalent to 'between' as in the phrase 'war between,' and on the opt. used in an imper. sense, which thus reduces the number of potential optatives.

Blätter für das Bayerische Gymnasialschulwesen. Redigiert von Ad. Römer. Bd. xxvii. 1890.

Of interest to classical scholars are the following: Essays:—Heft 1. *Zu Zonaras* (J. Melber). Explains a blunder in ix. 5.

Reviews: O. Jäger, *Das humanistische Gymnasium u.d. Petition um durchgreifende Schulreform* (Deuerling). Brilliant and important, though one-sided defence of the present system.—H. Planck, *Das Lateinische in seinem Recht als wissenschaftliches Bildungsmittel* (Deuerling). Historical sketch and criticism of the 'question du Latin,' with sagacious remarks on language and education and on the study of Latin for purposes of culture and discipline.—M. Schanz, *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur bis zum Gesetzgebungswerk des Kaisers Justinian. Erster Theil: Die römische Litteratur in der Zeit der Republik.* Bd. viii. in Iwan v. Müller, *Handbuch* (Weymann). Descriptive and critical review, with suggestion of many additions and corrections.—A. Nauck, *Tragicorum Graecorum fragmenta. Editio secunda* (Herzer). Descriptive review; criticism of various readings.—H. Droysen, *Heerwesen und Kriegsführung der Griechen*, in K. F. Hermanns *Lehrbuch d. griech. Antiquitäten*, Bd. II. Ab. 2 (Melber). Descriptive review, with corrections. A better book than A. Bauer's on the same subject.—H. W. Stoll, *Wanderungen durch Altgriechenland. I. Teil: Der Peloponnes* (Welzhofer). This work, as it were a German Pausanias for schools, is warmly commended.—W. Freund, *Wanderungen auf klassischen Boden. III. Heft. Delphi u. Olympia*. On the whole well done: good plan: details criticised.—Brief editorial notes on Steup-Classes's *Thukydides*, Book ii.

Essays:—Heft 2. *Die Ergebnisse der Schulkonferenz in Berlin* (J. K. Fleischmann). A summary.—*Vergleichung der römischen und attischen Redner* (Scholl).

Reviews:—P. Cauer, *Unsere Erziehung durch Griechen und Römer* (Fleischmann). Would transform the gymnasia from liberal training schools for various professions into technical schools for philologists and historians.—F. Schöll, *T. Maeci Plauti Menaechni rec. F. Ritschellus. Editio altera* (Weninger). Descriptive notice.—Oehler, *Bilderatlas zu Cäsars Büchern de Bello Gallico* (Schiller). Defective, and ill adapted to the wants of the young. A. Th. Christ, *Platons Euthyphron* (Nusser). This beautiful edition representing the newest views as to text and interpretation is highly commended.—A. Th. Christ, *Platons Gorgias* (Nusser). Criticises Christ's statement of the object of the Gorgias, believing it to show that the *ἔργον* of the true orator is *δικαιοσύνη*.—B. Keil, *Isocrates Panegyrikos* (Ortner). Admirable: a few corrections.—F. Slameczka, *Demosthenis orationes selectae* (Ortner). The eight Philipics with abstracts from *De Cor.* and *F.L.*, with Latin introductions. Good text.—A. Schäfer, *Abriß der Quellenkunde der griech. u. röm. Geschichte. I. Ab. Griechische Geschichte bis auf Polybios*, 4. Auflage

besorgt von H. Nissen (Melber). The revision is inadequate: many important works, here named, not referred to.—Hermann, *Lehrbuch der Weltgeschichte I. Orient. u. griech. Gesch. II. Röm. Gesch.* (Röckl). Excellent in design and execution.

Hefte 3 and 4. *Alte und neue Philologie in ihrem gegenseitigen Verhältniss* (P. Geyer). The classical philologist and the student of modern philology have and may learn much from each other.—*Vergiliana* (F. Kern). Comments on *Ecl.* viii. 11, 12; *Georg.* iv. 128, 129; *Aen.* iv. 298, 534; *Aen.* vii. 543, 544; *Aen.* ix. 510-512; *Aen.* x. 185-188, 539, 540, 768, 769; xi. 115-117, 891-893; *Culex* 168; *Ciris* 175.—*Zum Frage der Entstehungsweise der Kommentarien Cäsars über den Gallischen Krieg* (A. Köhler). The Commentaries were written at different times, after long intervals, and have interpolations made by the author.—*Zu Lateinischen Schriftstellern* (K. Meiser). Many remarks on passages in Nepos, Tacitus, Curtius, Propertius, Horace, and Porphyrio. *Zu Lateinischen und Griechischen Schriftstellern* (Fr. Vogel). Remarks on Avitus, Ennodius, Nepos, Diodorus.—*Zu Quintilianus* (M. Kiderlin). Critical and explanatory remarks on eight passages.—*Zu Silius Italicus* (L. Bauer). Emendations in Books xii.-xvii., and defence of certain readings given in vol. i. of the author's edition of Silius.—*Alliterierende Weissagung von Roms Untergang* (G. Schepss). Collection of twelve examples, with explanatory and critical remarks.—*Zur Kritik und Exegese von Platons Politikos* (J. Baumann). Discussion of the meaning of ten passages, with critique of former views: important is 271 D.—*Kritische Beiträge zur Aristotelischen Tiergeschichte* (L. Dittmeyer). On 487^a 3, 490^a 10, 491^b 2, 496^b 21, 497^a 4, 499^a 24, 502^a 22, 502^b 13, 504^a 7, 510^a 14, 513^a 1, 513^b 4, 518^b 2.—*De Dionis Oratoribus* (Joh. Stieh). Briefly discusses the order and interpolations: emendations for thirteen passages.—*Apollodoreer und Theodoreer* (G. Ammon). The former represent the dominant Isocratic tradition, the latter emphasize Aristotle's doctrines as to rhetoric.

Reviews:—H. Nohl, *Ciceronis Philippicarum Libri I., II., III.* (Hammer). Excellent text.—D. Thierianos, *Ἀδαμάντιος Κορναῖς*, 3 vol. (Wagner). Exhaustive treatment of life and works of Coraë, with valuable historical introduction of the Greek humanists. The review gives a survey of Coraë's life and writings.—C. Krieg, *Grundriss der römischen Altertümer*, 3te Auflage. H. Bender, *Grundriss der römischen Literaturgeschichte für Gymnasien*, 2te Auflage. M. Wohlrab, *Die altklassischen Realien im Gymnasium* (Rottmann). The first of these books is worthless; the second hits the mark; the third gives in succinct form all the preliminary information needed by the young student, reading the school classics.

Essays:—Heft 5. *Zu Cicero pro Sexto Roscio Amerino* (A. Spengel). Discussion of places which Halm thought corrupt.—*Textkritisches zu Caesar* (H. Schiller). *B.G.* iv. 25, 2; vii. 53, 1; vii. 53, 2; vii. 20, 3; *B.G.* iii. 112, 6 emended.

Reviews:—F. Kraner, *C. Iulii Caesaris Commentarii de bello Gallico*, 15te verb. Aufl. von W. Dittenberger (Schiller). Suitable only for advanced students. Several passages discussed.—R. Klotz, *Grundzüge der altrömischen Metrik* (Weissenhorn). Excellent treatise.—W. S. Teuffel, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*. Neu bearbeitet von L. Schwabe. 5te Auflage I. Bd. (Weymann). Indispensable. A few corrections offered.—*Putsche-Schottmüller, Lateinische Schulgrammatik* 23 Auflage von F. Heussner, B. Heil, u. H. Schmitt (Gürthofer). This grammar, based on the assured results of comparative philology, has many excellent features.—H. Busch,

Lateinisches Übungsbuch 2tes Teil für Quinta, 4te Aufl. von W. Fries. Admirable.—P. Geyer u. M. Mewes, *Bonnells Lateinische Übungstücke*. I. Teil für Sexta, 12 Aufl. (Gürthofer). Constructed on Perthes's principles. Highly commended.—W. Hörling, *Sammlung lateinischer Sätze*. I. Heft: *Sätze zu den Regeln über den Konjunctiv* (Gürthofer). Useful collection.—G. Vogrinz, *Grammatik des homerischen Dialektes* (Menrad). Excellent and valuable. Reviewer criticises certain features and details.—J. N. Prasek, *Medien und das Haus des Kyzaren*, in *Berl. Stud.* xi. (Welzhofer). Pains-taking, but not critical: results not sound.—W. Ihne, *Römische Geschichte* Bd. vii., Bd. viii. (Rottmann). Thorough and trustworthy.—W. Soltan, *Römische Chronologie* (Sepp). Shows broad knowledge and sound criticism.—Brief editorial notes, descriptive and critical, on *Commentationes Philologiae quibus Ottoni Ribbeckio LX. aet. annum exactum congratulantur discipuli Lipsienses*; also on *Commentationes Fleckeisenianae*, and *Commentationes Woelflinianae*.

Jahresbericht des Philologischen Vereins zu Berlin. September—November 1890.

THE LITERATURE OF TACITUS (except the Germania) 1889—1890 by G. Andresen. [See *Class. Rev.* iv. 332.]

I. Editions. *Cornelii Taciti Dialogus de oratoribus*, E. Wolff. Gotha, 1890. A thoroughly sound work. *Cornelii Taciti de vita et moribus Iulii Agricolaë liber*, A. E. Schoene. Berlin, 1889. Contains too many conjectures. *Corn. Tac. Germania, Agricola, Dialogus de oratoribus*, R. Novák, Prag. Has too little respect for the tradition. *Corn. Tac. ab excessu Divi Augusti libri qui supersunt*, Ign. Pramner. Pars posterior, libri xi.—xvi.

II. Writings on the life and authorship of Tacitus. Elimar Klebs, *Das Consulatsjahr des Geschichtsschreibers Tacitus*, Rhein. Mus. 1889. P. Hochart, *De l'authenticité des annales et des histoires de Tacite*, Paris 1890. An attempt to show that both these were written by the humanist Poggio Bracciolini. Maxim. Zimmermann, *De Tacito Senecae philosophi imitatore*. Breslau 1889. S.'s influence most visible in the Germania, then in the Agricola, more in the Histories than in the Annals. F. Anacker, *De orationibus et epistulis Taciti operibus intertextis*. Diss. Marburg, 1889.

III. Historical investigations. E. Dünzelmann, *Der Schauplatz der Varusschlacht*. Gotha, 1889. An attempt to identify Lupia with the r. Hunte and not the Lippe. Adolf Köcher, *Die Varusschlacht*. Historisches Taschenbuch 9 (1890). Aug. Deppe, *Der Tag der Varusschlacht* the 2d. Aug. A.D. 9 after Zangemeister. ib. *Die Varianische Truppenverteilung*. W. Fricke, *Geschichtlich-kritische Feldzüge durch das nordöstliche Westfalen*. Minden, 1889. Aliso near Hamm, the defeat of Varus in the Stromberg-Beckumer district. Friedr. Knoke, *Ueber den Rückzug des Caecina im J. 15 A.D.* N. Jahr. f. Phil. Alex. Riese, *Forschungen zur Geschichte der Rheinlande in der Römerzeit*. Leipzig, 1889. Throws light on the origin of the provinces called Germania. W. Liebenam, *Forschungen zur Verwaltungsgeschichte des römischen Kaiserreichs*. I. Band: Die Legaten in den römischen Provinzen von Augustus bis Diocletian. The literary and epigraphical materials of each province are dealt with in alphabetical order.

IV. Language. *Lexicon Taciteum*. A. Gerber et A. Grief. Fasc. vii. ed. A. Grief. Contains *meditamentum to nempe*. Knoke, *Der Gebrauch von FLURES bei Tacitus*. Progr. Zerbst, 1890. Nearly always a

comparative and seldom = nonnulli. O. Uhlig, *FORE, FORET* and *FORENT* bei Tacitus, Progr. Schneeberg, 1889. Reinh. Macke, *Die römischen Eigennamen bei Tacitus* III. Progr. Hadersleben 1889. S. B. Platner, *Gerunds and Gerundives in the Annals of Tacitus*. *Ann. J. Phil.* ix. 4 (*Cl. Rev.* iii. 479).

V. Criticism and interpretation. Ed. Philipp in *Wiener Studien* xi. (1889). The Tacitus MS. Vindobonensis II. containing *Dialogus Germania* and *Suet. de gramm.* has marginal notes in a different hand from the text but written soon after it. Cornelissen, *Mnemos.* 1889, recognizing that some words in Agric. 21 are from Caesar B.C. i. 3. 1, in the latter passage reads *promptos* for *Pompeius*. Herm. Sauppe, *Ind. & lect.* Göttingen 1890 in Hist. i. 7. 10, *immobilitate* for *mobilitate*. H. Nettleship, *Journ. of Philol.* xviii. Hist. ii. 77 *rescindet* for *recludet*, but *rescindet vulnera* is not suitable here. Pfitzner, *Das Verhältnis unserer neuesten Schulausgaben der Historien des Tacitus zu dem Florentiner Codex Ma. N. Jahr. f. Phil.* Complains that Prammer, Heraeus, and Wolff often neglect the MS. authority without sufficient ground, following a badly-founded 'consensus omnium.' O. Hirschfeld, *Hermes* 1889 for *que tedii* in Ann. i. 10 reads *q. Vitellii*. O. Riemann, *Rev. de Philol.* xiii. writes in support of Ritter's conjecture Ann. iv. 40 *qui te invi-cto ad> te perrumpunt*. J. Delboeuf, *Promenades à travers les six premiers livres des annales de Tacite*. *Rev. de l'instr. publ.* en Belg. 1889. The aim is to show that T., like Homer and Lafontaine, takes great pains to leave out no detail essential to the story, yet T. is shorter than both the others and more often baulks the reader's expectation. This is supported by a consideration of 3 passages, Ann. ii. 13, i. 66, iv. 62. 63. C. M. Francken, *Ad Taciti libros posteriores*. *Mnemos.* 1889. Various conjectures on books xii.—xv.

Nov.—Dec. 1890.

THE LITERATURE OF SOPHOCLES 1885—1889, by H. Otte.

I. Editions. *Soph. trag. ex rec. G. Dindorfii*. 6th ed. by S. Mekler. Lips. 1885. The new Teubner text, not so much a revision as an independent edition of great value. *Sophocles, Part II. The Oedipus Coloneus, Part. III. The Antigone*, by R. C. Jebb. Cambridge 1885—1888. One of the best if not the best edition of Soph. that has yet appeared. *Oedipus Coloneus, Trachiniae*, ed. F. Schubert. Lips. 1885—6. On the whole to be recommended. *Soph. Trag.* by C. Schmelzer, vol. i., *König Oedipus*. Berlin 1885. Shows want of care and knowledge. *Soph. I., Oedipus Tyrannus* by J. Holub. Paderborn 1887. Contains 40-50 emendations, most of them not to be commended. *Oedipus Tyrannus* by F. W. Schneidewin, 9th ed. by A. Nauck. Berlin, 1886. *König Oedipus* by G. Wolff, 3rd ed. by L. Bellermann. Leipzig 1885. *Oedipus Tyrannus* by N. Wecklein, 2nd. ed. München 1886. These three editions may be recommended. *The Oedipus Tyrannus of Soph.* by B. H. Kennedy. Cambridge 1885. None of the conjectures can be specially approved. *Soph. Electra and Philoketes* by G. H. Müller. Gotha 1885—6. The commentary not equal to the text. *Philoketes* by F. W. Schneidewin, 9th ed. by A. Nauck. Berlin 1888. *Electra* by E. Wunder 4th ed. by N. Wecklein, *Oed. Col.* 5th ed. by N. Wecklein, Lips. 1886, 1889. The text and commentary of Wunder thoroughly revised. *Electra* by N. Wecklein 2nd ed., *Antigone* by N. Wecklein 2nd ed. München 1888, 1885. *Antigone* by G. Wolff 4 ed. by L. Bellermann Leipzig, 1885. *Antigone* by F. W. Schneidewin, 9th ed. by A. Nauck. Berlin, 1886. *Antigone* by F. Schubert, 2nd ed. Wien, 1889. *Aias* by G. Wolff, 4th ed. by L. Bellermann.

Leipzig, 1887. Thoroughly revised and with advantage. *Aias* by N. Wecklein, 2nd ed. München 1887. *Aias* by F. W. Schneidewin 9th ed. by A. Nauck, Berlin 1888. *Aias* by R. Paehler, Gotha 1889. Much to be recommended.

II. Contributions to criticism and interpretation. *Kritische Studien zu den griechischen Dramatikern*. Vol. i. to Aischylos and Sophocles, by F. W. Schmidt. Berlin, 1886. The many emendations of Soph. are worthy of consideration but are to be received with caution. *Lucubrations Sophocleae* by H. van Herwerden. Traj. ad Rhen. 1887. All the conjectures are worth study but not many are to be approved. J. Vahlen, *Index lectionum*, Berlin W. S. 1885—6. On Ant. 1108—1114, 46. El. 957, 1485. O.T. 827. H. Schütz, *Sophokleische Studien*. Gotha, 1886. On the Ant., but hardly any of the conjectures will be approved. R. Paehler, *Die Löschung des Stahles bei den Alten*. On Aj. 650 foll.: where P. reads βαῖρυ for βαρῆ. H. van Herwerden, *Epistola critica ad Nauckium*. *Mnemos.* 17 (1889). A number of conjectures to Soph. A. Nauck, *Kritische Bemerkungen*. St. Pétersbourg 1888. A number of conjectures to Soph. worthy of study. A. Nauck, *Analecta critica*. *Herm.* 24 (1889). On Aj. 1166f. O.T. 1419f. Fr. Polle, *De Sophoclis Oedipo Rege quaestiones criticae*. Leipzig, 1886. On Porson's law of the caesura. H. Berndt, *Quaestiones grammaticae et criticae in Sophoclis Trachinias*, Progr. Halle 1887. The grammatical part better done than the critical. N. Wecklein, *Ueber die Textüberlieferung des Aesch. und anderer griechischer Tragiker*. Sitzungsber. der K. bayer. Akad. der Wiss. 1888. Emends O.T. 813 foll., and Phil. 1382 foll. A. Spengel, *Phil.* 46 (1887). On O.T. 198, 598, 287, 328, 600, 1221, 1512, 1526, 1528. H. van Herwerden. *Mnemos.* 14 (1886), various conjectures to Soph. G. L. Kittredge, in *Amer. Journ. Phil.* vi. (1885) on μαχαλίσιν in Aesch. Cho. 439 and Soph. El. 445. B. Nake, *zu Soph. König Oedipus*. *Rh. Mus.* 40 (1885). On Il. 326, 329, 1447, 1512. N. Wecklein, *Phil.* 44 (1885). O.T. 153 reads δραπέραν cf. Aesch. Pers. 114. A. E. Housmann, *Cl. Rev.* i. 240 reads τὰ παῖδια in El. 564. R. C. Jebb, *Cl. Rev.* ii. 324 reads προσκάσαι Phil. 42, improbable. F. Schubert, *Zeitsch. f. d. öst. G.* 1887, on Aj. 835 ἐπερθε for αἰετς. P. N. Papageorg. *Berl. Phil. W.S.* 1886—7 various conjectures to Soph. N. Wecklein, *Rh. Mus.* 41 (1886), O.C. 524 κακὰ ποιῶν and 521 ἡνεγκα δοκῶν μεν. Caes. Cristofolini, *Schedulae criticae*, Riv. di fil. xvi. (1888) conjectures on El. 496. Ant. 23, 1097. Tr. 57, 58, 1175. A. Schwarz, *Beiträge zur Kritik und Erklärung des Soph.* (Antigone), *Zeitschr. f. d. öst. G.* 1889. A. Thimme, *Philol.* 48 (1889) on El. 1415, 1416.

III. Miscellaneous writings.

Scholia in Sophoclis tragedias cetera, by P. N. Papageorg. Lips. 1888. Has done much to emend and explain the Scholia. F. Schubert, *Analecta Sophoclea*. Progr. Prag. 1886. Maintains that P. A. is independent of Laur. xxxii. 9. M. H. Vetter, *Ueber die Schuldfrage im König Oedipus*. Progr. Freiberg 1885. Emil Müller, *Ueber den Charakter der Hauptperson im König Oedipus*. Progr. Zittau 1886. Traces the character of Oed. from 276 to the end. Graffunder, *Ueber den Ausgang des König Oedipus*. *N. Jahrb. f. Phil.* 131 (1885). R. Schreiner, *Zur Würdigung der Trachiniae des Soph.* Wien 1885. Th. Schneider, *Ueber den Text Trachinierinnen*. Maintains Schneidewin's opinion as against Bergk's assumption of a double edition. A. Beck, *Ein Chorlied des Oid. Tyr.* *N. Jahrb. f. Phil.* 131 (1885). On O.T. 1086—1109. Suchier

Ueber die ethische Bedeutung der Sophokleischen Tragödie Elektra. 2nd Part. Progr. Rinteln 1885. A defence of the character of El. O. Ribbeck *Zu Sophokles' und Euripides' Elektra*, in *Leipziger Studien* viii. (1885). Seeks to show that Eur. has here imitated Soph. J. Holzer, *Kurze Betrachtungen über die Hauptcharaktere und die wichtigsten Nebengestalten der erhaltenen Tragödien des Sophokles*. Progr. Triest 1887. Contains nothing new, but well puts together the received opinions on the characters of Soph. *Euripides' Herakles* vol. i. *Einführung in die attische Tragödie* by U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf. Berlin 1889. Will take for a long time one of the first places in the literature of Greek tragedy. H. F. Müller, *Was ist tragisch? Ein Wort für den Sophokles*. Progr. Blankenburg, 1887. Very well worth reading. P. Weidenbach, *Aristoteles und die Schicksalstragödie*. Progr. Dresden 1887. Considers that of the seven pieces of Soph. only Ajax fails to conform to the rules of A. Fr. Bernhard, *Die Frage nach der chronologischen Reihenfolge der erhaltenen Sophokleischen Tragödien*. Progr. Oberhollabrunn 1886. Gives the order as Aias, Ant., El., Trach., O.T. (or O.T., Trach.) Phil. and O.C. M. Zavadlal, *Wodurch wird die Uebersetzung, dass Soph. den Phil. im höchsten Greisenalter geschrieben, im Stücke selbst bestätigt?* Progr. Mitterburg 1887. Written B.C. 409 in 87th year of his age. F. Bodschi, *Questiones Sophocleae*. Progr. Berlin 1885. On the *figura etymologica* in Soph. J. Sprotte, *Die Syntax des Infinitivs bei Sophokles*. Progr. Glatz 1887. A valuable contribution to historical Grammar. R. Röhreke, *Ueber den Gebrauch der Pronomina $\delta\varsigma$ und $\delta\omega\tau\iota\varsigma$ bei Sophokles*.

Progr. Geestemünde 1885. Kopp, *Ueber positio debilis und correptio attica im iambischen Trimeter der Griechen*. Rh. Mus. 41 (1886). J. Aschauer, *Ueber die Parodos und Epiparodos in der griechischen Tragödie*. Progr. Oberhollabrunn 1887. Collects all that has been written on the subject. Schulhof, *On the early Ionian poets and the interrelation of Ionic and Attic Greek*. Transactions of the Oxford Philolog. Soc. 1881—9. Maintains against Rutherford that the foundation of the speech of tragic dialogue is to be found in the Ionic of the older Ionic elegiac and iambic poets, and not in the Attic of the time when tragedy began. J. Rappold, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss des Gleichnisses bei Aisch., Soph., und Eurip.* Progr. Wien 1886. Treats of the repetition of comparisons in the three tragedians and of the comparisons of Homer beside those of tragedy. J. Koch, *Questionum de proverbiis apud Aesch., Soph., Eurip., caput I.* Diss. Königsberg 1887. A valuable dissertation. G. Hippenstiel, *De Graecorum tragicorum principum fabularum nominibus*. Diss. Marburg. 1887. Seeks to show that the ancient poets gave the simplest names to their works and that the additions were made by grammarians to distinguish. R. Opitz, *Schauspiel und Theaterwesen der Griechen und Römer*. Leipzig. 1889. Makes the subject clear even to one unacquainted with it. A. E. Haigh, *The Attic Theatre*. Oxford 1889. A comprehensive collection of all that is most worth knowing on the ancient theatrical representations. B. Tolt, *Noch einmal die Bühne des Aeschylos*. Philol. 48 (1889). Against Wilamowitz in Hermes 21. J. Mähly *Zur vita Sophocles*, Philol. 48 (1889).

LIST OF NEW BOOKS.

ENGLISH BOOKS.

Aeschylus. The Prometheus Bound of Aeschylus and the fragments of the Prometheus Unbound, with Introduction and Notes by N. Wecklein. Translated by F. D. Allen. 12mo. iii, 175 pp. Boston, Ginn & Co. 1 dol. 50 c. (College Series of Greek Authors.)
Aristophanes. The Frogs. Adapted for performance by the Oxford University Dramatic Society, 1892, with an English version by D. G. Hogarth and A. D. Godley. 8vo, sewed. Frowde. 2s.
Bendall (H.) and *Lawrence* (C. E.) Graduated Passages from Greek and Latin Authors, for first sight translation, selected and supplied with short notes for beginners. Part II. Moderately easy. Cr. 8vo. 132 pp. Cambridge Press. 2s.
Bywater (J.) Contributions to the Textual Criticism of Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics. 8vo, sewed. Frowde. 2s. 6d.
Collar (W. C.) The Gate to Caesar. 16mo. ix, 141 pp. Boston, Ginn & Co. 45 c.
Dice (C. M.) A Third Latin Reader and Writer, with a preface by E. A. Sonnenschein. Post 8vo. 128 pp. Sonnenschein. 2s.
Eutropius. Books I.—VI. (with omissions). With Maps, Notes, &c. Edited by A. R. S. Hallidie. 12mo. Percival. 2s. net.
Horace. Odes. Book III. Edited by A. H. Allcroft and B. J. Hayes. Post 8vo. Clive. 3s.
—, Odes, and Carmen Saeculare. Translated into English Verse by the late John Conington. New edition. 12mo. 176 pp. Bell & Sons. 3s. 6d.

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